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The Progressive Party In Indiana

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The progressive movement in Indiana was simply a component part of the larger movement throughout the nation. It was broader than any political party, and embodied many fundamental measures and principles of political, social and economic reforms common to the platforms of parties for the preceding half century. The Republican party at its inception was prophetic of progressiveism. It undertook to introduce positive economic and social functions into the American government.¹ However, after a long lease of power, during which its supremacy was never seriously disputed, corrupt practices had crept in.

For some time there had been Republicans who stood for a change in their party's leadership. These men wanted it to be more responsive to the will of the people at all times. There was a feeling that the government with its privileges belonged to those who best knew how to manage votes and voters. Corruption in state and local politics grew. There was little public protest. A long period of indifferentism followed. The old story of the man who was enraged because a corruptionist was sure to be elected mayor, yet stayed away from the polls because he had an engagement to go quail hunting, illustrates the attitude of many. Under such circumstances it became possible for political bosses to control elections in their own interests. Some of the earlier progressive Republicans were Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin who was defeated as a candidate for governor of that state in 1894. Later, in 1900 he was elected to that

¹ Croly, *Progressive Democracy*, 123.

office, and re-elected in 1902 and 1904. In Michigan Hazen S. Pingree was elected mayor of Detroit in 1889 and governor of Michigan in 1896. He instituted many radical changes within his jurisdiction. Tom L. Johnson as mayor of Cleveland and Samuel M. Jones as mayor of Toledo initiated certain movements in their respective cities looking toward the amelioration of the poorer classes as well as the comfort and welfare of all.

The Democratic party was not unlike the Republican party in its corruption and failure to measure up to the demand of the times. As in the Republican party, there were certain pioneer Progressive Democrats who because of their revolt against the old processes in state and local government helped to make the way easier for the later Progressive movement as an independent party. Among these the most prominent were William S. U'Ren and George E. Chamberlain of Oregon. Joseph W. Folk started "the fight for Missouri" in 1900 which he continued as governor in 1904.

The smaller third parties had from time to time announced their principles, practically all of which were taken up by the Progressive party.

Some of their platform planks were woman suffrage, direct election of United States senators, abolition of child labor, initiative, referendum and recall, non-partisan tariff commission, income tax, inheritance tax, regulation of railway rates, control of monopolies, mothers' pensions, minimum wage laws, preferential primaries, factory regulation and inspection, employer's liability, workmen's compensation, state insurance acts, home rule for cities, postal savings banks and government ownership of certain public utilities.

With the succession of Theodore Roosevelt to the presidency a union of the man and the occasion was consummated. It made possible the launching of the Progressive movement on a national scale. The policy of legislative control of the great corporations was begun, and at the same time illegal combinations were prosecuted under the Sherman Anti-trust act of 1890. The national movement extended its authority to the settlement of labor disputes, railroad regulation, pure food, meat inspection, and the great undertaking for the con-

servation of our natural resources. Roosevelt's bold and fearless administration coupled with his striking personality made him the idol of a majority in his party.

As president, William H. Taft, in order to realize a successful administration, needed only to gather up the spoils of victory which his predecessor had already won for him.

The Republican reactionaries in congress had longed for the end of Roosevelt's term to come, counting the days until his successor would be inaugurated. It was doubtless Mr. Taft's intentions to keep in between the two factions of his party, and in his failure to give his aid to the Progressives he alienated them. To them it seemed clear that he had fallen entirely into the hands of the conservatives.² For the ordinary administrative duties of the presidential office Taft was a good man, but along the new lines of governmental activity he failed to make good. It seemed that he always did the wrong thing at the wrong time although perhaps unintentionally.

While there were Progressives in all parties the Republican party was the only one to experience an open rupture. The first evidence of division was in the house of representatives during the special session of congress, March, 1909. At this time the "insurgents" as they were called, arrayed themselves against Speaker Joseph G. Cannon. "Uncle Joe" was accused of exercising arbitrary power and of holding back desirable legislation.³

The Republican party had been returned to power in 1908 with the promise in its platform that the tariff would be revised. It was generally understood that revision meant a reduction on most schedules. The House tariff bill was amended by the finance committee of the Senate in a way that made it unsatisfactory to senators from the west. On the final vote ten of these senators voted against the bill.⁴ All of these senators save Brown, Burkett and Crawford continued to oppose the bill as amended by the conference committee. President Taft had used his influence to bring about

² Haworth, *America in Ferment*, 376.

³ *American Year Book*, 1910, 49.

⁴ Beveridge of Indiana, Bristow of Kansas, Brown and Burkett of Nebraska, Clapp of Minnesota, Crawford of South Dakota, Cummins and Dolliver of Iowa, La Follette of Wisconsin and Nelson of Minnesota.

an improvement in the bill but finally signed it. The Progressive Republicans felt that he should have helped them more. They therefore speedily severed relationship with him when he declared that the tariff measure was "the best that had ever been passed."⁵

An outstanding feature of the off year elections in 1910 was the schism in the Republican party. Six normally Republican states elected Democratic governors. The Democrats gained control of the house of representatives by a majority of 64. In the Senate they were only outnumbered by eight. It was obvious that most of the Republican strength had been due to progressive assistance. The elections clearly rebuked the Republican "standpatter" and indicated that the voters supported the progressive position.

As the break grew wider the Progressives formed a definite organization. On January 23, 1911, the Progressive Republican League was started in Washington "to promote popular government and progressive legislation."⁶ At this time five reforms were advocated: (1) Direct election of United States senators, (2) direct primaries for nomination of all elective officials, (3) direct election of delegates to national convention, (4) amending state constitutions to provide for initiative, referendum, and recall, (5) a thoroughgoing corrupt practices act. Senator Jonathan Bourne was made president of the league. Other leading members were Senators La Follette, Cummins, Bristow, Brown, Clapp, Gronna, Beveridge; governors of California, Michigan, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Wyoming; Gifford Pinchot, James R. Garfield, and Louis D. Brandeis. The league showed its political importance when in the reorganization of the Senate it demanded a representation in the Republican committees at a ratio of one to four. Such assignments were to be made by La Follette, Cummins, Bourne and Bristow, Progressive members of the Republican steering committee in the upper house. In spite of Republican protest the Progressives virtually acted as a third party during the special session from April to August, 1911. They opposed Canadian reciprocity, but voted for the Democratic measures including the farmers' free list,

⁵ President Taft's speech at Winona, Minn., Sept., 1909.

⁶ *American Year Book*, 1911, 68.

cotton and wool bills. After Taft vetoed the three tariff measures about two-thirds of the Progressives formed a coalition with the House Democrats in an unsuccessful attempt to pass the free list and woolen bills over the veto.⁷

During the summer the leading Progressive Republicans continued to attack the President in various public utterances. He was accused of being too friendly to the large corporations. Moreover, the attitude he took toward the Payne-Aldrich bill, Canadian reciprocity and his conservation policy was generally condemned.⁸ On the sixteenth of October about two hundred Progressive Republicans met at Chicago, drew up a set of resolutions and endorsed Senator La Follette for the presidency.⁹ Senator La Follette had before this time opened up headquarters in Washington. Walter L. Hauser, secretary of the Progressive Republican League was in charge as his field secretary. At the conference two facts appeared. First, men only waited the formal word to line up behind La Follette as against Taft. Second, no "pussy-foot" platform of principles, as several speakers expressed, would be countenanced by the aggressive men gathered together under the banner of progressiveism.¹⁰ The selection of a presidential candidate by a direct primary vote was one of the noteworthy resolutions.¹¹ The action of the Chicago conference was not approved by a number of Indiana Republicans. The Indianapolis *Star* in an editorial, October 20, termed the resolution a "surrender" because they did not mention tariff reform. The use of such terms as "safe and stable," "judicial determination," were re-

⁷ *American Year Book*, 1911, 49, 52, 69.

⁸ Haynes, *Third Party Movements*, 424.

⁹ Indianapolis *Star*, Oct. 17, 1911.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ "The progressive movement is a struggle to wrest the control of the government in the nation from the representatives of special privileges and restore it to the people. The issue is the same in all states though the problem may be presented in different ways. The present condition of uncertainty in business is intolerable and destructive of industrial prosperity. It is worse than idle to leave the question, whether government business enterprises are legal or not, merely to judicial determination. Industrial corporations should by affirmative legislative enactment be given definite rules of conduct by which business shall be made safe and stable while at the same time the interests of the public should be fully safeguarded. We favor the choice of a presidential candidate by direct primary in each state. Pursuant to statute or in its absence let the Republican state committees give the people this right."—Indianapolis *Star*, Oct. 17, 1911.

ferred to as a means of enticing voters and not an offer of aggressive reform. The Progressive sentiment of the Republican party might have been gathered up and solidified by a correct statement of its views but the conference failed both in platform and candidate to accomplish this.

Republican sentiment in Indiana was still progressive, but it was not strong for La Follette. When some of the senator's boosters chose to abandon the impersonal fight for tariff and industrial reform and resolve the movement into a vehicle for his ambition they parted company with the rank and file in Indiana. Nevertheless, the devotees of "anything to beat Taft" were beginning to realize that, after all, the Payne-Aldrich bill was not the only thing that had happened in the last two years, nor the only thing that the people would be thinking of when they came to select a president. Further tariff reform might be undertaken during the winter session of congress. If no relief was granted on the woolen and cotton schedule the country would then understand who was to blame. Gradually public opinion was beginning to identify the president with other things. He could hardly be held responsible for the Payne act except as playing the part of "first aid to the injured" at Winona. La Follette, even, considered that the tariff was being overmuch discussed. To refrain from raising that issue would enable him to hold the farmer protectionist vote and not alienate those held by direct primaries, just as a trust plank of the Chicago resolutions would hold both Wall Street and the Populists. There were of course a few personal admirers of the Wisconsin senator in Indiana. In Wayne county the central committee decided not to entertain him should he make his proposed visit in November. It was argued that such a visit would be unprecedented and would embarrass the new county committee after the holidays by seeming to indorse a candidate in opposition to the President. La Follette's friends therefore declared that a Progressive party would be formed to entertain him and to help further his candidacy in that section. These men felt that Taft had already intimated his fear in an address at the Hamilton Club dinner in Chicago, October 30. He was reported to have said: "If the people

desire a change we shall loyally support the new government under any condition.”¹²

In order to determine just who was the man most likely to defeat Mr. Taft's nomination the La Follette following urged the use of preferential primaries wherever possible. The Progressives planned to bring the matter up before the Republican national committee when it met in Washington, December 12, but since they could only command about six votes of the committee, the attempt was doomed to failure. The friends of the Wisconsin man however were expecting the coup to fail but contended that its failure would be a help rather than a hindrance. “Every knock a boost” was their slogan. By rejecting the scheme, Republican standpatters would be shown up. The only defense they offered was that any such change would cause confusion. Under the usual convention system they could control this election of delegates in favor of President Taft. At the Washington meeting of the national committee, December 12, the scheme was rejected, as predicted by the progressives. The spirit of the national body was decidedly pro-Taft. Harry S. New, as Indiana's member, was strongly opposed to the primary idea. After overcoming some slight opposition he was made chairman of the sub-committee to arrange for the national convention to be held in Chicago.

Indiana politics was not greatly influenced earlier in the year by the Progressive agitation in the neighboring states. According to Walter L. Hauser, La Follette's field secretary, the state was on the map for the “opening gun” in the presidential campaign of his leader. The gun was to be loaded, primed and fired for Indiana and by Indiana. Out of “senatorial courtesy” Indiana had been left alone by insurgents pending Beveridge's return from Europe. The future course of Progressivism in the state was still admittedly up to him.

At this time an unexpected statement by State Chairman Edwin M. Lee, that Taft could not carry Indiana, caused unusual political activity in the Hoosier state. Mr. Lee had been in New York and his statement was made in Washington after his arrival there, December 12. This left no doubt of the possibility of a fight being made in Indiana to prevent Taft instructions in the district conventions and in the state con-

¹²Indianapolis *Star*, Oct. 31, 1911.

vention in connection with choosing district delegates and delegates at large to the national convention. Copies of the statement were eagerly sought for in the lobby of the Willard hotel where Mr. Lee was staying. Newspaper men heard that a sensation was on tap and flocked to the Indiana man. Republican State Chairman Walter Brown of Ohio had preceded Mr. Lee in declaring against the availability of Mr. Taft. With the impetus given the movement to prevent instructed delegates to the national convention it would now go on with considerable co-operation throughout the country. It was expected that an anti-Taft organization would be effected in Indiana within the following few weeks. Lee's statement was as follows:

Mr. Taft cannot carry Indiana. If he is the Republican nominee our fight is lost before a gun is fired. As one of his original friends I have been driven to this knowledge with extreme reluctance. I have hoped he would be the man to lead us next year and have personally declared for him three separate times. I have spent the last eight months traveling over Indiana, have visited each county in the state and some counties many times. For a time it looked as if we might pull Mr. Taft through and I fostered favorable sentiment to him wherever I could because I am his personal friend and it seemed logical and good party policy that he should succeed himself. From the first, however, I found no enthusiastic sentiment for him. The feeling of the precinct workers and the rank and file seemed to be one of sufferance that he had the solid south and would be nominated and we might as well make the best of it. In the last two months sentiment has changed to pronounced dissatisfaction with Mr. Taft as our leader. A few days ago I sent letters to our precinct committeemen—there are more than three thousand of them—asking for a statement of political conditions in their precincts. I have received already hundreds of replies. Four out of five of these letters from precinct committeemen state that there is dissatisfaction with Mr. Taft among the voters, and this too although in my letter I did not ask for opinions on that point, but only on general conditions. This proves to me what my personal contact with our voters—and I have personally interviewed literally thousands of them in the last eight months—had led me to fear, there is not the slightest chance to carry Indiana for Mr. Taft.

The formation of a new Republican state committee in Indiana brought out the real cleavage of the members of that party. The issue was Taft instructions or an open field. Mr. Lee declared that on November 21 he had told President Taft

that it would be impossible to carry Indiana with him as the nominee. To national chairman Charles D. Hilles he stated that the use of federal patronage and the attempt to force activity of federal appointees in building up a Taft machine in Indiana would "result only in the promotion of additional factional feeling." Medill McCormick, returning to La Follette's headquarters in Washington from a tour of investigation in Indiana, declared that all the information he had been able to obtain tended to bear out the statement of Mr. Lee. When the state committee met to fix dates for the meetings in the districts to choose district members of the state committee, all conceded this would take place. Chairman Lee favored the second week in January for these meetings so that the anti-Taft sentiment would have time to grow. Some prominent Republicans of the state issued statements concerning Mr. Lee's actions.¹³ It was generally agreed that he desired

¹³ R. F. Davidson, President of the Marion Club, said: "President Taft's record justifies Indiana Republicans in favoring him and urging his re-nomination. It is my opinion and observation that President Taft's strength in Indiana is such as to insure him the solid Indiana delegation in the 1912 Republican National Convention and I believe when he is re-elected next fall Indiana will be one among the great states found backing Taft for four years more of sane and progressive administration."

John C. Ruckelshaus, avowed candidate for Republican district chairman in the Seventh district and former Marion county chairman, who already had declared his fealty to Taft, said: "I am not able to speak of conditions in the state as a whole, but so far as the Seventh district is concerned I believe President Taft is as strong as he ever was and that he will be the same strong candidate in 1912 that he was in 1908. President Taft proved to be remarkably vigorous as a vote getter in the county and district three years ago. So far as I am concerned no statements adverse to President Taft have any weight with me."

Former governor, Winfield T. Durbin, made the following statement in Chicago on December 13: "There is no doubt of President Taft being the nominee of the Republicans if his strength in Indiana is any criterion. He will get a solid delegation to the national convention and I want to say that if Indiana does not go Republican at the election there won't be anything Republican left anywhere else."

The *Evening Item*, Richmond, William W. Foulke's newspaper, said editorially: "There is nothing surprising about Mr. Lee's declaration. In fact he admitted on his visit to Richmond a few weeks ago that he found a pronounced apathy on President Taft's administration, and even in the face of his own preference that the party 'get together' behind Taft he confessed it seemed a forlorn hope."

Henry W. Bennett, Republican District Chairman of the Seventh district and vice-chairman of the Republican State Committee, said: "I am inclined to believe State Chairman Lee has given a fair statement of the Indiana situation so far as President Taft is concerned. I know Chairman Lee has investigated political conditions. No doubt he feels entirely justified in the statement of his conclusions based on conscientious inquiry. I do not believe it is the part

re-election as chairman of the state committee. Naturally he would not care to take charge of the campaign in his state for a candidate who had no chance of being elected. Zealous Taft men claimed that Lee was making the race for re-election on Roosevelt propaganda, that he was jealous because Taft had not made him United States marshal, or did not support his candidacy for re-election as state chairman. Combined forces of the friends of Charles W. Fairbanks, James B. Kealing, Captain Harry S. New, James A. Hemenway and James E. Watson of the old state organization lined up against Chairman Lee. They refused to admit the correctness of Mr. Lee's views as to Taft's strength in Indiana. While the state chairmanship at that time, December 17, was one of the chief things at issue in Republican party politics, the matter of instructions for the Indiana delegation to the Republican national convention was not entirely forgotten. Men on both sides of the organization contest asserted that it was altogether probable that when the time came the Indiana delegation would go forth uninstructed. Men who had in mind the uncertainties and possibilities of politics as well as the high standing of Charles W. Fairbanks as a presidential possibility were expected to insist upon non-instruction for an outside man. The Lee forces had not yet said much concerning this matter but it was understood that their efforts included the selection of national delegates as well as the naming of a new state committeeman for the party.

Chairman Lee issued a call January 2, 1912, to the various "functions" for the reorganization of the state committee. Delegates to the district conventions, to elect district chairmen and precinct committeemen, were to be elected January 26

of wisdom to overlook or put aside the feeling against Taft which seems to exist in Indiana."

Colonel Charles Arthur Carlisle, South Bend, an influential Republican of the Thirteenth district, said: "If Taft cannot carry Indiana no Republican can, and we might just as well prepare for a Democratic victory. I am for Taft. I make this statement advisedly. My opinion is based on information coming from the people with whom I come in contact and they are representative of all classes. In my opinion it is a serious mistake to think of any other candidate than Taft for the 1912 presidential nomination. The position assumed by Chairman Lee in his Washington interview can lead to but one conclusion, and that is he has in mind a dark horse for the Republican convention of next June. Whether it is Roosevelt or Beveridge I, of course, cannot say, but the chances are that Lee will be found in the support of our former senator as the convention date draws near."

and 27. On January 29 precinct committeemen of each county were to elect county chairmen. The district convention was scheduled for January 31 and the date for the meeting of the new state committee to select a new state chairman, for February 2. The district delegates were to be apportioned on the basis of one for each two hundred votes cast for the Republican candidate for secretary of state in 1910.¹⁴

The men who hoped to defeat President Taft saw their only chance in preventing instructions to delegates at various conventions. There were contests in the Third, Eighth, Ninth, Twelfth and Thirteenth districts when it came to selecting district chairmen. However most of these were friendly, the conventions adjourning without serious ruptures. In the Third district Robert W. Morris was elected over Dr. B. F. Stalker of Borden, credited with being an original Lee man. George Lilly of Anderson won out against Joseph G.

¹⁴ Indianapolis *Star and News*, January 3. The following call was agreed upon by the state committee: "To the Republicans of Indiana and to all those who desire to co-operate with them—Pursuant to the order of the Republican state committee you are invited to participate in elections in the respective counties of the state for the selection of precinct committeemen, such precinct committeemen to elect county chairmen and other officers of the county committees of the respective counties on the dates hereinafter named for the election of delegates to the district conventions for the purpose of electing district chairmen for the respective congressional districts of the state on the dates hereinafter named. The election of precinct committeemen in the respective counties and the election of delegates to district conventions for the purpose of electing district chairmen for the respective congressional districts shall be held on January 26 and 27, 1912. Precinct committeemen thus elected will meet on Monday, January 29, at such hour and place as the county committees of the respective counties shall indicate for the purpose of electing county chairmen. Delegates to district conventions will meet on Wednesday, January 31, at such hour and place in the respective congressional districts as the district chairmen shall indicate for the purpose of electing district chairmen. The district chairmen thus elected will meet in Indianapolis on Friday, February 2, at the Republican committee headquarters for the purpose of electing a chairman of the Republican state committee. Delegates to district conventions will be apportioned among the several counties of the state on the basis of one delegate for every two hundred votes and for each additional fraction of more than one hundred votes cast for Otis E. Guiley, secretary of state, at the November election, 1910. The election of precinct committeemen and delegates to district conventions as indicated above in each county of the state shall be either by primaries or mass conventions and shall be held in the respective counties, townships, precincts or wards between such hours and at such places and under such rules and regulations, not contrary to the rules of the state committee, as the county chairman may fix. The county chairmen of the several counties will apportion to the different townships, wards or precincts of their counties the representation to which they are entitled and make all necessary arrangements accordingly, giving notice at least two weeks by publication in the Republican press of their counties of the date, hour and place of voting."

Leffler of Muncie and Morton Hawkins of Portland in the Eighth district. W. O. Thomas of Monticello was elected over Warren D. Simpson of Benton county as the Tenth district chairman. The contest in the Twelfth district was probably the most spectacular of all, Allen J. Vesey of Fort Wayne being the successful candidate against Louis N. Litman of La Grange. Linus Meredith was chosen without opposition in the Sixth district. The resolution of the Seventh district meetings praised Taft but didn't suggest his renomination. This was also true in the meetings of the Fifth, Sixth, Second, First, Eighth, Eleventh and Twelfth districts. The Tenth, Third and Ninth districts endorsed Taft for renomination and criticised the extravagance of the Democratic administration in Indiana. Roosevelt sentiment went so far as to reach a caucus endorsement for him in the Eighth district; to put a soft pedal on Taft indorsement in the Eleventh, and to oppose Taft indorsement in the Twelfth as being too emphatic on the President's side. The delegation from Delaware county to the Eighth district convention was the most radical of all on the county local option question. It was accused of placing the liquor issue before party success. In the convention a resolution was carried asking for an indorsement of county option in the state platform. This was also done in the Ninth and Eleventh districts.¹⁵

On February 2 the district chairmen met in Indianapolis to elect a state chairman. There was a great deal of opposition to Mr. Lee's re-election. Some said it was wrong for a state chairman to express preferences and that Lee had made a great break because it was by the President's record that the party would stand or fall. Mr. Fred A. Simms of Frankfort had been mentioned for the party chairman in Indiana and he was elected. Will H. Hays of Sullivan was elected vice-chairman. The committee declared it would not

¹⁵ Indianapolis *News and Star*, Feb. 1, 1912. "These men constituted the new Republican state committee: Marcus S. Sonntag, Evansville; Will H. Hays, Sullivan; Robert W. Morris, New Albany; John M. Lewis, Seymour; John G. Bryson, Brazil; Linus Meredith, Richmond; John C. Ruckelshaus, Indianapolis; George Lilly, Anderson; Chas. J. Wheeler, Noblesville; W. O. Thomas, Monticello; Walter C. Baily, Peru; Allen J. Vesey, Fort Wayne; Fred Woodward, South Bend; Fred A. Simms, Frankfort, Chairman."

be a dictator of nominees in the state convention but would adhere to the tradition of refraining from indorsing any candidate for president. It was thought that the majority of the members however favored Taft.

Realizing that the whole country was seething with Progressive sentiment, the Democratic party was inclined to heed the advice of Bryan that Progressive candidates should be nominated. The Ohio Progressive Democratic League, January 2, declared that there must be no backward step in platform or candidates, and no agents of big business for delegates; that candidates should be judged by their past records as proof of their Progressive attitudes; that Parker's defeat in 1904 showed the fate of a reactionary candidate.¹⁶ By their inertia the Indiana Democrats had allowed Thomas Taggart to dominate the party. Many Progressive Democrats opposed his leadership and pointed to the disastrous defeat of 1904 in substantiation of their claims. Moreover with a division among the Republicans over local option the party was able to obtain a bare majority of twelve thousand in 1910. With even the stars in their courses fighting for the Democrats, so to speak, their majority was not very great. Friends of John W. Boehne, representative from the First district, started to boom him for governor early in the year. He would be a candidate of the people as against the machine. On March 16 he withdrew and the state convention, passing over such candidates as John A. M. Adair, Representative Ralph W. Moss, and Lieutenant Governor Frank J. Hall selected Samuel M. Ralston of Lebanon to head the ticket.

The Republican party was officially pro-Taft. To the leaders it seemed difficult if not impossible to refuse Taft an indorsement without discrediting the whole party and its policies. That the Progressive element was something to be reckoned with no one dared to deny. Charles D. Hilles, as early as January 9, declared, "the only way to make sure of shutting out Theodore Roosevelt is to bring together a convention of delegates instructed to vote for the renomination of Mr. Taft."¹⁷ The President's record it was argued had been consistent in encouraging the following legislation:

¹⁶ Indianapolis *News*, Jan. 3, 1912.

¹⁷ Indianapolis *News*, Jan. 10, 1912.

reciprocity, arbitration treaties, tariff revision, enforcement of anti-trust law, interstate commerce law, banking and currency legislation, economical methods of administration, development of the public domain, building up a high-grade judiciary and extending civil service to the postoffice department.

The Republican editorial association, meeting in Indianapolis January 26, therefore favored the renomination of the President. Besides this it went on record as advocating a return to the county unit in local option within the state.¹⁸ The Democratic state administration was denounced in no uncertain terms. Elected on a pledge of economy and retrenchment it had been characterized by extravagance and waste. New offices and bureaus had been created while the cost of the old had increased. The institutional system was inefficient and costly, tending to get the state into debt which would have to be met by higher taxes and bonds.

Secretary Nagel, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, was invited to speak in Indianapolis in defense of the administration. He accepted the invitation and made his speech in the evening of March 11. His conclusion was that the future historian would find difficulty in accounting for the war waged against Taft by some Republicans. The platform of 1908, he said, contained many specific pledges and few presidents had shown such an earnest determination to carry out their party's pledges. According to the cabinet member Taft was not criticized so much for recreancy to the platform, the last authoritative declaration of party faith, as for refusal to embrace new doctrines which had never been accepted by the party at all and which were not at that time articles in the Republican creed. The principles of the initiative, referendum and recall, according to Secretary Nagel's views were advocated by men ambitious for national office and generally avoided by those having to do with local affairs. Each was therefore making promises to which he could not be successfully held.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Indianapolis News*, Jan. 27, 1912. "Officers of the association elected at this meeting were Leo K. Fesler, of Indianapolis, president; A. A. Hargrave, of Rockville, first vice-president; J. W. Lewis, of Salem, second vice-president; B. R. Inman, of Middletown, secretary; Edgar Baldwin, of Fairmount, treasurer."

¹⁹ *Indianapolis News*, March 12, 1912.

This was a time of great stirring and ferment throughout the land. The people were groping, seeking for a new and better condition of things. After having secured new grants of control over their government they were now asking for still more. The era of democracy and the "average man" seemed to be at hand.²⁰ Economic conditions only intensified the unrest. The high cost of living was a problem being grappled with perhaps as much in Indiana as in any other state. Reform legislation, "Progressiveness" generally, was quite the thing in the campaign. It was the popular method of the hour to capture public fancy. This was more noticeable in the west where the insurgent members of congress had found themselves lined up against the members from the east over the Payne-Aldrich tariff; where Progressive legislation had already been enacted and where the spirit of the movement was demonstrated in Arizona's replacing in its constitution a judiciary recall provision which had been forced out in order to obtain admission as a state.

Perry S. Heath of Muncie, Indiana, made a tour through the western states as far as the coast. His political observations as a Republican are interesting as showing the general frame of mind in this section.

The Republican party as an organization is in peril. Those in charge have been giving attention only to the insurgents. They have overlooked the conservatives, the old liner who stood for gold and a protective tariff. Business is not good beyond the Mississippi river. There is little demand for money, loans are mostly renewals and factories are not running over time. Credits are good because collections are close and sales or purchases made cautiously. What is the matter? There is lack of confidence in the future, too much agitation, threat and uncertainty as to the interpretation of the law. One feature not reckoned with is that the fight for the Chicago nomination is breeding trouble for us in November. The Republicans are restless from fear that that party may not win in the election. The situation is similar to that of 1884 and that of 1892. If we can shift the situation from a question of trusting men to party policies, and get our forces together we can win. Our internecine trouble will hurt us at the polls. If the Democrats indorse the recall and tariff for revenue only the Republicans can pull together on these issues. I found only one place favoring the recall and none for revenue only tariff. The insurgents are now more hopeful than the old line Republican.²¹

²⁰ Indianapolis *News*, Jan. 1, 1912.

²¹ Indianapolis *News*, Feb. 1, 1912.

In Indiana the situation was almost without parallel as far as the Republicans were concerned. One could hardly have placed a finger on the average worker and declared positively where he stood. Lines were crossed as never before. Men who stood with the old organization were coming out for Roosevelt or La Follette. On the other hand men who had been followers of former Senator Beveridge were lining up behind Taft. A third term issue, the initiative, referendum and recall, no doubt, alienated a number of Roosevelt admirers. As for the Democrats the hope of victory would hold them together and they would endeavor to foster the breach in the Republican ranks.

The Socialists felt that by refusing to support the Progressives they could add to their own strength. Their objection to the ideas of the Roosevelt following was that they tended toward a sort of state socialism not in harmony with the principles of the Socialist party. The Prohibitionists were too much interested in accomplishing their purpose through their own party to endeavor to attain it through another. On the whole it appeared that the Progressive Republicans in Indiana would labor to gain control of the party organization within the state. Having done this they would appeal for support to independent voters from all other parties, some former Socialists, some Democrats, some Prohibitionists. Just how successful they would be no one could predict.

President Taft, Senator La Follette and former President Roosevelt each endeavored, either directly or indirectly, to obtain support for his candidate. The Wisconsin senator had visited Ohio, Michigan and Illinois during the closing weeks of 1911. He avoided Indiana no doubt with the idea that his ideas should have a little time to soak into her tough and conservative political system. He opened his 1912 campaign with a speech in Orchestra Hall, Chicago, January 3. The next day marked the beginning of a trolley car tour of Illinois with eighteen speeches scheduled. Throughout he figured as a safe and sane Progressive candidate.²² Janu-

²² Indianapolis *News*, Jan. 4, 1912. "The condition of non-representation—selling out—is one which has builded up within the Republican party this division we find, the Progressive Republicans and the conservative or standpat Republicans. Changes have come that make it necessary to modify past Republican principles." From La Follette's Chicago address, Jan. 3.

uary 6 in the afternoon the senator was scheduled for a speech at the Knights of Columbus hall in Terre Haute after which his party would proceed at three o'clock for meetings at Indianapolis and Richmond. The money for hall rent was contributed at the meetings. The same plan for meeting expenses was to be used at Richmond, financial aid from all those in "sympathy with the Progressive movement" was requested. At the latter place John H. Reed, chairman of the committee of factory employees, was selected to have charge of the meeting which unfortunately could not be held owing to the late arrival of Mr. La Follette. At Terre Haute he was given a flattering reception, where the Aldrich tariff and trust question received their share of attention in his speech. Changed conditions from those of the days of the Sherman act were pointed out. The trusts had increased almost to the limit "during a strenuous administration." The evils of railroad combines were slated for exposure at Richmond had an address been given there. The people had begun to think and talk politics.

As evidence of Progressive activity in Indiana at this date one notes the formation of a Hoosier Progressive League in Richmond as a branch of the state organization. While the crowd waited on La Follette cards were handed out to be signed and returned by all those in sympathy with the movement.

The progressive movement is a compact with the object of securing progressive legislation including the initiative and referendum for the determination of public questions. I, the undersigned, hereby enroll myself as a member of the Hoosier State Progressive League. I agree to support in caucus and convention candidates pledged to progressive legislation and to do my utmost to see that such candidates are brought out for nomination. The Hoosier State Progressive League is not a party movement, and my loyalty is not impaired by reason of my membership therein.

Signed -----²³

Roosevelt was more popular than La Follette in Indiana. This was proven by various straw votes taken throughout the state. In the colleges Roosevelt and Wilson were invariably chosen heads of the Republican and Democratic tickets.

²³ Membership card as given in the Indianapolis News, Jan. 2, 1912.

Taft and La Follette were on about equal standing for second place. Roosevelt clubs were formed throughout the state to promote his candidacy. Some men hesitated to favor him because of the third term argument, still others because he came out so plainly in favor of the referendum and recall before the Ohio state constitutional convention on February 1.

Immediately after this event his candidacy received another impetus when Senator La Follette was reported to be in ill health so that he would probably withdraw from the race. Men in politics for pass time, diversion and political preferment favored Taft. Traveling men, literary men, physicians, students and social workers as a rule favored the Colonel. The standpat element maintained that the Republican party would be wrecked if Roosevelt continued as a candidate. To these men his advocacy of preferential primaries at a comparatively late date would be a good excuse for his retirement in case his will in this matter suffered defeat.

President Taft stated the position of most of his sympathizers in Indiana when he made a brief address at Richmond while waiting at the railway station there on May 20. He had been "forced into the campaign." The issue of "killing the bosses" had no place in the contest for he was "as much against the bosses as their distinguished fellow townsman, William D. Foulke." In 1908 Roosevelt had commended him to the people in terms of glowing eulogy, but after four years the ex-president would return to office as "the only fit man for the job."²⁴

There were several leading Taft men throughout the state who worked for his renomination. Among these were former senator, James A. Hemenway, former representatives, James A. Watson, and Edgar D. Crumpacker, Harry S. New, Addison C. Harris, Charles A. Bookwalter, John B. Cockrum, Winfield Miller, H. C. Atkins, Clarence A. Kenyon, former vice-president, Charles W. Fairbanks, and Merrill Moores a classmate of Mr. Taft. With the Lincoln League in operation and with a number of Taft clubs throughout the state there was a well organized effort on the part of the

²⁴ *Indianapolis News*, May 20, 1912.

administration forces to retain the existing party organization.

The Progressive agitation in Indiana with its first visible symptoms in Chairman Lee's announcement at Washington soon spread throughout the state. Nat C. Wright, editor of the *Cleveland Ledger* and *Toledo Blade*, had visited Mr. Lee in Indianapolis, previous to the latter's announcement for the purpose of urging the Indiana state chairman to say that the President could not carry that state for re-election. This was the standpat version of Mr. Lee's action, in an effort to discredit the Progressive movement by showing corrupt co-operation between its leaders and the various trusts.²⁵ The claim of the Indiana chairman was doubtless made with good intentions and for the good of the party. Progressive sentiment began to manifest itself first of all in the border counties of the state. Among these Wayne, Vanderburg, Vigo, Jay, Floyd, Saint Joseph, Knox, and Allen counties were the most prominent. Interior centers of activity were in Delaware, Decatur, Cass, Hamilton, Huntington, Bartholomew, Lawrence, Monroe, Marion, Madison and Shelby counties. In each of these counties local organizations were built up looking forward to the control of the party organization, the selection of various delegates and the naming of candidates. The plan of the national Progressive workers was to have a complete party organization. Former Republican State Chairman Lee was made state chairman while Charles H. Campbell of Shelbyville was selected to represent Indiana on the national committee. The Campbell-Lee organization was thus opposed to the regular Harry S. New-Fred Simms machine.

Early in March former Senator Beveridge made it plain that he was a Progressive and was for Roosevelt. According to the standpatters about ninety per cent of the federal office holders were Beveridge appointees having been named while he was senator. Some of these men were active in the campaign while some were not. Mr. Henry W. Bennett of Indianapolis assumed leadership of the postmasters. John F. Johnston of Logansport and Francis I. Stultz of Huntington, openly and industriously worked for Roosevelt. It was easy

²⁵ Indianapolis *News*, Jan. 15, 1912.

for the old liners to accuse the Roosevelt men of offering political appointments or nominations for offices to certain Republicans whom they desired to have affiliate with them. F. S. Buggie of Shelbyville acted as secretary of the Campbell headquarters in Indianapolis (Rooms 430-432 Claypool Hotel Building). The work done here was under the direction of the Roosevelt headquarters in Chicago. Reports were sent from Indianapolis to the Chicago offices from whence they were forwarded to Senator Dixon at Washington, who had charge of the Roosevelt campaign. Mr. Beveridge became active as a Roosevelt leader and made his first important speech of the year on March 13 in Tomlinson hall, Indianapolis. Later he spoke in Illinois, Kansas and Minnesota. On April 8, accompanied by Charles H. Campbell, he went to Danville, Illinois, in order to meet Colonel Roosevelt and accompany him across northern Indiana. At Lafayette "the third term" candidate spoke on the "square deal" and important issues of the day. At Logansport a brief speech was made and at Wabash, where he declared that "if the same kind of primaries had been held in Indiana as will be held in Illinois tomorrow the people instead of the politicians would have ruled." While in Peru he took occasion to thank the Eleventh district for its victory at the delegate convention which had been held March 28 at Wabash. Before leaving Huntington his final declaration was that the case should rest with the people. At Fort Wayne the Republicans were charged with unfair tactics in an effort to defeat his supporters:

Our opponents are apparently willing to proceed to any lengths to nullify the will of the people. When they descend to methods of that sort they forfeit all right to represent the Republican party or bind it.

The corrupt methods to which Colonel Roosevelt referred in his Fort Wayne speech of April 8 were those employed by the old Republican party organization throughout the state in order to obtain Taft delegates in the district conventions of March. Each district selected two delegates to the national Republican convention. On March 26 the state convention selected four delegates at large.

The Taft men organized the convention at Evansville al-

most at will although the anti-administration men made a lot of noise and announced several contests. There were $48\frac{3}{4}$ Taft delegates and $11\frac{1}{4}$ for Roosevelt outside of Vanderburgh county. When the members from Vanderburgh were counted there was a total of $63\frac{3}{4}$ Taft and $31\frac{1}{4}$ Roosevelt votes. Charles F. Heilman and James A. Hemenway were thus selected as Taft delegates to the national convention. The first contest arose in selecting a permanent chairman. Daniel H. Ortmeier, a regular Republican, opposed Philip Gould, a Roosevelt man, for the place. Gould finally withdrew, while a shout for Teddy went up as Ortmeier tried to speak. The report of the committee on rules could not be heard when read, but was adopted nevertheless.

Dickman's Hall had been hired the day before by the Roosevelt men in anticipation of a rump. They at once retired to this meeting place where Charles Finley Smith of Evansville and W. F. Adams of Spencer county were selected as delegates to the national convention. Resolutions adopted affirmed allegiance to the Republican party, its principles and candidates which might be named by an honest majority of Republican voters; Roosevelt, the logical candidate, who was needed to meet present conditions; did not indorse unfair methods used throughout the district to overthrow the will of the majority; that they represented the yeomen of the party; the attitude of the independent press was commended; Taft's administration they considered unsatisfactory and furthermore he could not be re-elected.²⁶

While the preliminary conflict was raging at Evansville the Republicans in the Seventh district were selecting delegates to their convention to be held March 16. There was no law under which a primary could be held and, as one would expect, some unfair methods were used. The vote was about 30% of the party strength so that it did not fairly represent public opinion. It showed a preference for Taft of almost three to one (Taft 8,690, Roosevelt 3,275). The convention therefore was controlled by Taft followers. The Roosevelt men had but six delegates seated while they contested fifty-five more. With all of these, however, it would

²⁶ Indianapolis *Star*, March 16, 1912.

have been impossible to elect delegates pledged to Roosevelt. The total number in the convention was 134, so that 68 would have been necessary to insure control. There was some talk of a rump, but it did not appear. In view of the November returns in Marion county it appears that there must have been serious misrepresentation of the Progressive strength in the primary and convention. The resolutions of the standpat majority confirmed the party platform of 1908 and approved the Taft administration. They favored representative government as established by the constitution of the United States, disapproved the initiative, referendum and recall. The Republican party was the "party of progress" guided by experience, statesmanship and the protection of home industry.²⁷ William E. English and Samuel Lewis Shank were chosen as delegates.

The Progressives determined that a final effort should be made to carry the remaining district mass conventions for Roosevelt. In Scott county, for example, they were well organized, making a personal mail campaign to obtain control of the convention. The results of such organization are evident from the fact that four Roosevelt delegates to both the state and Third district conventions were chosen. George W. Applegate and C. W. Crim were named in the Third district; O. H. Montgomery and Webb Woodfil in the Fourth; William R. McKeen and S. A. Hayes in the Fifth. The factions were of about equal strength in the Sixth and Eighth districts. In the former the Maxwell-Briscoe Motor Company of New Castle sent a train load of its employees to the Connersville gathering, where two Taft delegates, Enos Porter and T. C. Bryson, were elected for the Chicago convention. State convention delegates W. H. Elliott and Edward Hill were both Taft men. The President's forces had a good majority in the Second and Tenth districts. The Eighth went to Roosevelt with Harold Hobbs and Edward C. Toner as delegates. The Ninth was also lost by Taft by a vote of 70 4/10 to 54 6/10, William H. Dye and William Endicott being selected as national delegates.

The Thirteenth district convention was held at Warsaw

²⁷ *Indianapolis News*, March 16, 1912.

April 2. The convention followers crowded the city. A noteworthy feature was the exciting and noisy contest which characterized the session. The Taft men controlled by only $\frac{1}{2}$ vote, naming as delegates Clem Studebaker Jr. of South Bend and Morris Fox of LaPorte. Without delay the Roosevelt men held a hasty rump, naming Fred W. Keller of Warsaw and P. R. Judkins of Elkhart as delegates.

In the Twelfth district the Taft men made little opposition to the selection of two Roosevelt delegates, Harry Brown of Waterloo and H. H. Rerick. The convention instructed the delegates for Roosevelt and endorsed Chas. H. Campbell for national committeeman.

There were a total of 1,439 delegates for the state convention selected in the various districts by primary elections or by conventions. Of the total number Taft men claimed 823. The Roosevelt men claimed 606, leaving ten contested. However, there was the Monroe county delegation claimed by Taft men, but contested by their opponents. There were thirteen of these delegates and they are included in the Taft total.²⁸

District.	For Taft.	For Roosevelt.	Contested
1.	54	37	6-a
2.	81	25	13-b
3.	50	42	0
4.	60 29/42	44 13/42	1-c
5.	65	31	0
6.	54 1/2	51 1/2	0-d
7.	128	5	1 e
8.	52	54	0-f
9.	63	61	1-g
10.	79	42	0
11.	52 1/3	65 2/3	0 L
12.	13 1/2	75 1/2	0
13.	70	72	1-h

a. Vanderburg Co. b. Monroe Co., included in Taft's 81. One neutral from Morgan Co. not included. c. Decatur Co. d. Two sets in Henry Tp. Henry Co. where a compromise was planned. e. Outside Indianapolis. f. Madison Co. contested. g. Montgomery Co. h. One of the three Taft delegates from Elkhart Co. contested but included above.

On the eve of March the 26th, delegates from the various districts met to select members of the various committees, as well as to form an organization for the state convention. Taft men were present in sufficient numbers to enable them

²⁸ Indianapolis *Star*, April 24, 1912.

to organize the convention in spite of objections of Roosevelt followers. "Rump" meetings were held by the latter in the Third, Sixth and Eleventh districts. The Taft men were able to control the selection of approximately eight members on each of the various committees.

The credentials committee acted on some 134 contests. Of this number the Taft supporters gained 130, while the Roosevelt ranks were strengthened by one additional delegate from Posey county and from a Terre Haute ward. It was necessary for the police to assist Chairman John B. Cockrum in maintaining order. Taft members of the committee had been selected from the First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Tenth districts, leaving the Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth for the Roosevelt sympathizers. Edward Warfel of the Sixth district and A. P. Hauss of the Third were unsuccessful Roosevelt contestants for places on the committee.

The first test of the comparative strength of the two forces came on a vote to table the minority report of the Roosevelt members of the credentials committee. The vote stood 772 to table, against 667 opposed. This indicated that the Taft men had a majority of about 105 in the convention.²⁹

At a conference of the Roosevelt men in the headquarters just before the convention it was decided to propose a compromise. The substance of the plan was that two Roosevelt and two Taft delegates at large be named by the convention. Wallace B. Campbell of Anderson, Eighth district member of the resolutions committee, made the proposal. Frederick Landis of Logansport was selected to present the conference plan. During the session of the convention Horace Stilwell discussed the plan with Mr. Harry S. New, but he refused to give it any encouragement. Charles H. Campbell then tried James P. Goodrich, but he also disapproved of such action. Practically all the Roosevelt men were active in behalf of such a course, but their opponents allowed them no headway. With the regular organization men it was simply a case of taking everything since it was possible to do so.

By a vote of 776 to 667 the convention named Charles

²⁹ *Indianapolis News*, March 26, 1912.

W. Fairbanks, Harry S. New, Joseph D. Olliver and James E. Watson as delegates at large to the national convention. No "anti" names were presented by the Progressives. A "rump" held by them after the regular convention selected Albert J. Beveridge, Edwin M. Lee, Charles H. Campbell, Frederick Landis for delegates at large. The alternates were Joseph H. Campbell, G. E. Jeffries, Mort Hawkins and Charles J. Adams. For electors, Fred W. Keller, South Bend, and Warren Sayre of Wabash were named with C. O. Roemler of Indianapolis and W. O. Bohannon of Evansville as contingent electors.

The platform was adopted by the resolutions committee by a vote of 7 to 6. Jesse L. Dunning, an ex-soldier and Roosevelt man, offered a resolution to indorse the Sherwood pension bill, already passed by the house of representatives, with a petition to the Senate and President that they respectively pass and sign it. He also proposed to strike out the endorsement of President Taft. Both of these proposals were lost by a 7 to 6 vote. Wallace B. Campbell suggested that the declaration against the initiative, referendum and recall be omitted, but this was not done. The delegates at large were instructed to vote for Taft. On the tariff question the resolutions were orthodox, but it was so subordinated that even a free trader could not object to the wording. This was accomplished by the assertion that "the Republican party has established and maintained protection." Taft's administrative achievements were summarized and commended, while the third term idea of the former president was opposed as something which "Washington, Jefferson or Jackson could not have and which Grant could not get."³⁰

Attention was now directed to the national convention of the party. All contests would be finally decided there and the true strength and character of the Progressive movement manifest itself. On May 13 all the Indiana delegates were to meet at the Claypool hotel at Indianapolis in response to a call sent out by Harry S. New and Fred A. Simms. Accordingly Charles A. Campbell issued a similar call for the ten uncontested Roosevelt delegates and the twelve elected

³⁰ Indianapolis *News*, March 27, 1912.

by the "rump" to meet at the same place. The Simms-New meeting was for the purpose of arranging hotel accommodations and headquarters in Chicago, while the Campbell meeting framed up contest plans. On May 14 Ormsby McHarg, who had charge of the contests in the 1908 convention, conferred with Mr. Campbell in Indianapolis. It was agreed that the contests should be drawn up in approved form and presented before the national committee by Horace Stilwell of Anderson.

Long before the convention date State Chairman Simms announced that he was swamped with requests for tickets. This showed a great interest in Indiana, for as a rule the state has been rather tardy in stirring up enthusiasm of this kind, but once started it eclipsed almost any of our commonwealths. As one Republican put it, the "Hoosiers love a good scrap." Many Roosevelt men, enthusiastic over their leader and angered because of machine domination, were eager to journey to the Windy City for a final encounter with the foe. They would oppose Senator Root for the temporary chairmanship offering Governor Hadley of Missouri instead. When their leader arrived it was planned to make a great demonstration.

On June 10 and 11 the national committee took up the consideration of the Indiana contests. Indianapolis was the crux of the case. Practically all of Marion county's 134 delegates to the state convention had been Taft men. If there was fraud anywhere in Indiana it must have been in Indianapolis. When George L. Record of New Jersey spoke on the Governor Hadley motion to substitute the Roosevelt temporary roll for the roll prepared by the national committee it almost caused a fight between some of the Indiana delegates. He stated that the Seventh Indiana district returns were made up by election officials without even opening the ballot box. William E. English, one of the Seventh district delegates, sprang to his feet and declared that there was no contest there. William H. Dye of Noblesville, a Roosevelt delegate, questioned English's statement, whereupon, according to the newspaper reports, the latter yelled back "liar, liar, liar".³¹ The national committee had by a vote of 52 to

³¹ Indianapolis News, June 19, 1912.

0 seated all the Taft delegates at large from this state as well as those contested from the First, Third, Fourth and Thirteenth districts.

The credentials committee meeting on the evening of June 20 seated the four Indiana delegates at large by a vote of 34 to 11. The two Taft delegates from the Thirteenth district were also seated. Merrill Moores of Indianapolis had charge of preparing and presenting the Taft contests from Indiana.

James A. Hemenway was Indiana's member of the credentials committee.

Elihu Root received 558 votes to 502 for McGovern of Wisconsin in the race for the temporary chairmanship. Indiana's vote was strictly factional being twenty for Root and ten for McGovern. On a motion that no delegates whose seats had been contested should vote in the matter of selecting members of the credentials committee and that no such delegate should vote in the settlement of any of the contests James E. Watson, Taft's floor leader, moved to table it referring the question to the credentials committee. This brought out the second test vote of the convention showing a gain for the Taft men, the figuring being 564 to 510.

The vote for President stood Taft 561, La Follette 41, Roosevelt 197, Cummins 17, Hughes 2, not voting 344, absent 6. On this contest seven of the Roosevelt delegates from Indiana obeyed the orders of their chief and remained silent while Porter, Bryson, and Toner voted for the Oyster Bay man. The vote for vice-president was Sherman 597; Hadley 14; Borah 21; Merriam 20; Beveridge 1; Howard F. Gillette of Illinois 2; not voting 352; absent 71. Porter cast his vote for Sherman while Bryson and Toner supported Hadley.

The platform adopted by the convention was marked by several innovations. It dealt with issues in a general way yet more concisely than usual. No direct reference was to be found in it to any pending legislation at least by name. The party still believed in a protective tariff but admitted that some schedules were too high recommending a tariff board to make adjustments. In censuring the Democratic tariff bills of the last congressional session and denying that the protective tariff was responsible for high prices two

blunders were made according to the opinion of many. It was admitted that a simplification of existing methods of removing derelict judges would be helpful when such a course became necessary. The recall was considered unwise, for the integrity of the courts might be impaired by its operation. Other recommendations included the continuance of Taft's peace treaties; supplementary legislation for the Sherman anti-trust law; steps toward farm loans and financial readjustment; the merit system; campaign publicity; parcel post; adequate navy and marine; flood prevention; reclamation; river and harbor work; the leasing system for Alaska; safety at sea; immigration legislation; continuation of the previous policy toward Porto Rico and the Philippines.

When it became evident that his contesting delegates would not be seated Colonel Roosevelt refused to recognize the further procedure of the convention as binding. Much talk emanated from the Coliseum as to the likelihood of a third party being formed. A conference of Progressive leaders on the night of June 20 resulted in the final decision as to their future course with a statement from the third termers himself:

If the honestly elected majority of the convention chooses to proceed with business and to nominate me as the candidate of the real Republican party I shall accept. If some of them fear to take such a stand and the remainder chooses to inaugurate a movement to nominate me for the presidency as a Progressive on a Progressive platform, and if in such event the general feeling among Progressives favors my being nominated, I shall accept.

The meaning of this announcement was clear. It meant a bolt that would not seem like a bolt. While the Republican party platform might appear to be very progressive—as it did—yet the party could not be trusted to carry out the pledges made therein so that a new party resulted. A sharp difference of opinion developed among Roosevelt supporters. On one side a group of radicals headed by Governor Johnson of California, George L. Record of New Jersey, Gifford and Amos Pinchot of Pennsylvania and Washington respectively, James R. Garfield of Ohio and ex-Senator Beveridge of Indiana were for taking such action as would of necessity start a new party. Opposed to these were men like Senator

Borah of Idaho, Governor Hadley of Missouri, and Victor Murdock of Kansas, who refused to desert the regular party.

A majority of the Roosevelt delegates were willing and indeed eager to follow him in a new venture. By forming a temporary organization, at a mass meeting, the delegates were held together until more definite steps could be taken. Work toward the formation of a Progressive party, as it was to be known, started immediately throughout the country.

ORGANIZING THE NEW PARTY

Following pre-arranged plans, a majority of the Roosevelt delegates to the national convention following an informal and unofficial nomination of Mr. Roosevelt for the presidency, gathered at Orchestra hall on the night of June 22, where they formulated agreements for their future course. The new party determined to hold state conventions for nominating electoral, state and legislative tickets where there seemed any chance of success. At a conference between Roosevelt and Governor Johnson of California, Sunday June 23, it was agreed that the latter should appoint a committee of seven which, with the former's advice, should do the preliminary work of organizing a new party and issue the call for a national convention to be held early in August at Denver or Chicago.

No prominent Indiana political leader appeared on the stage, or went on record as taking an active part in the "rump" meeting at Chicago. Seven out of the ten Roosevelt delegates to the G. O. P. convention were reported as attending. The list included William Holton Dye of Noblesville (9th District); Dave Harris of Marion (11th District); J. P. Kenower of Huntington (12th District); Horace Hobbs of Muncie (8th District); William Endicott of Crawfordsville (9th District); and Harry Brown of Waterloo (13th District). These men received the instructions to return home and ascertain the popular sentiment. If the people back home balked it was understood there should be no third party.

Edwin M. Lee called a conference of Progressives to meet in Indianapolis on July 3. In a telegram to Theodore Roosevelt he had asked advice as to the advisability of launching

a third party in Indiana.¹ To the telegram Roosevelt replied:

I heartily approve the project. Go on with the commission of the Progressive party. Such a party must of necessity break away from both of the old organizations.

Considerable difference of opinion prevailed among the men before the conference opened. All were not willing to go as far as Mr. Lee who believed that a third party should be organized immediately. However, it appeared as if Mr. Lee would make a strong effort to effect a temporary state organization.

Just before the conference met in the Claypool Hotel a number of the men frankly admitted that they were "up in the air" and were undecided just what to do. Those who came from other counties showed a disposition to investigate the Indiana situation from all angles. R. R. Rerick and Louis Litman of Lagrange called at Republican State Headquarters to talk things over with State Chairman Fred A. Sims. Some of the more enthusiastic members, who especially desired to punish the Republican machine for its sins, were Rudolph G. Leeds and Ed Harris of Richmond, Russell K. Bedgood of Bedford, J. M. Horten and Fletcher Paine of Wabash, Paul L. Haworth of West Newton and Lon Hodson of New Castle.

More conservative views were held by William D. Headrick and Charles O. Roemler of Indianapolis. They were inclined to stay with the Republican party making an effort to obtain a good Republican state ticket and adopt a good Progressive platform. In other words those who were inclined to be regular politically sought to cleanse the old party from within, failing in which it would then be time to get out.

The "Big Chief" was out already. His telegram urging the "necessity" of a break from both the old parties practically assured a formal schism in Republican ranks. Some

¹ "Subject to your approval by wire I will recommend to the conference of Indiana Progressive Republicans here Wednesday P. M., July 3, that we proceed with the third party organization. The result at Baltimore may affect its immediate effectiveness but does not ignore the necessity for it. Indiana Progressive Republicans are not Democrats and cannot obtain full expression of their sentiments through Democratic channels, though progressive. Kindly give us the benefit of your ideas." *Indianapolis News*, July 3, 1912.

had already taken the plunge while others wavered. Most speakers asserted their belief in the principles of the Republican party but usually advanced the theory that Roosevelt was the "real" nominee and President Taft the "bolter" on account of the alleged fraudulent votes cast for him at Chicago.

Mr. Lee read a long letter from Horace C. Stilwell of Anderson explaining why a new political movement was necessary. Comment on the letter led some to say that Stilwell was being groomed for governor. Others mentioned were Albert J. Beveridge and Frederick Landis. Beveridge was in Maine at the time so that no one knew just where he stood. A motion for the "Bull Moose" party to put a full state ticket in the field carried. Moreover, owing to the short time, a state committee could not be selected by primaries but according to the old party methods.

The following men were chosen as district committeemen of the new party and drew up the resolutions. First district, Charles Finley Smith; Second, Joseph E. Henley; Third, R. B. Stevenson; Fourth, Dr. Carl Payne; Fifth, Solon Enloe; Sixth, E. F. Warfel; Seventh, Harry Chamberlin; Eighth, Clayte Sells; Ninth, William Holton Dye; Tenth G. K. Stimson; Eleventh, S. E. McConnell; Twelfth, R. H. Rerick, and Thirteenth, L. N. Litman of Lagrange (as no one from that district was there). The following statement was issued:

Whereas, This conference considers the action of the Republican National Committee as unworthy, fraudulent and not representative of the rank and file of the party; and

Whereas, We regard the liberties of the people jeopardized by the "vicious circle" dominated and controlled by the political bosses and agents of special privilege and corruption; be it therefore

Resolved, That we (representing the Progressive members of the party in Indiana) do hereby denounce such action as unfair and destructive and in so far as we recognize the same predatory influences dictating the machinery of each of the old parties, we further declare ourselves determined not to abide by the results of such practice and we hereby pledge our readiness to co-operate in an effort to restore to the people their rights to govern themselves; and further

Resolve, That we pledge the people of Indiana that the state ballot shall contain the electoral ticket permitting Progressive Republicans and all others who will stand with them to vote for a presidential candidate representative of their principles; further

Resolved, That a state convention shall be called as soon as possible to continue the work of this conference.²

J. V. Zartman of Indianapolis started a little demonstration by proposing that the name "Republican" be stricken from the phrase "Progressive Republicans" used in the resolutions. He said a Democrat who wished to join in the movement had expressed the wish at the beginning of the meeting that the designation of "Progressive Republican" had not been used but that the men in the new movement should style themselves simply "progressives". Several men supported the suggestion but Joseph E. Henley of Bloomington protesting against such a step said, "We met here as Republicans and we came as Republicans of the Progressive type. I do not think the word 'Republican' should be stricken out. The reading of the resolution doesn't bar out any other progressive voter who wishes to join us". No change was made in the name.

To complete the temporary organization E. M. Lee was named as state chairman and Harvey B. Stout, Jr., of Indianapolis, secretary. Authority was given the chairman to appoint an executive committee composed of a representative from each of the thirteen congressional districts.

Senator Joseph M. Dixon as chairman of the Committee of Seven, named to have charge of the preliminary organization of the new party, sounded a call for its first national convention. The date set was for August 5, and the place selected Chicago. The conference of Indiana Progressives had made a bid for the convention to come to Indianapolis, but Chicago had already been chosen. The Committee of Seven and prominent Roosevelt leaders in forty states signed the call. For Indiana, Edwin M. Lee and Horace C. Stilwell affixed their signatures. Each state was to select delegates by its own method. The representation was cut down to one-half of the regular numbers. This was considered advisable because the convention would be largely a deliberative body and composed of a class of men altogether different from those who usually attended conventions.

Close upon the call for a national convention Chairman

² Indianapolis *News and Star*, July 4, 1912.

Lee arranged for a meeting of the state executive committee authorized by the third party conference of July 3. At this meeting, July 12, further details of the state organization were planned. Two problems of more than ordinary importance came up for discussion. One of these, that of putting independent tickets in the field where some Roosevelt men were already nominees of the Republican party brought out some earnest discussion. The argument against such a course was that the chances of both parties would be ruined.

The second question was whether the state convention, if one was called, should be held before or after the Republican state convention dated for August 6. The prevailing sentiment favored an earlier date, holding that if the third party waited until after the Republican convention, the latter would adopt as radical a platform and nominate as radical a Progressive ticket as it could find timber for, in order to anticipate if possible the third party platform and ticket.

The committee decided that Roosevelt men nominated for presidential electors by the Republicans in five of the thirteen districts should resign.³ John I. Nixon of Attica, a Roosevelt man so nominated in the Ninth district, had already resigned by sending a letter to State Chairman Sims of the Republican state committee. Cornelius McGrevey from the Eleventh district also expected to resign unless the Republican state convention put him off before he had a chance to do so. Austin W. Stults of Ft. Wayne said he would remain regular, although he had worked for Roosevelt and had been nominated as a Roosevelt elector. Fred S. Buggie of Shelbyville also expressed his desire to remain regular.

A sub-committee consisting of Horace C. Stilwell, Rudolph Leeds, William H. Dye, Harry O. Chamberlain and E. M.

³ The following men were appointed by temporary Chairman Lee to constitute the Executive Committee authorized by the conference, July 3. On July 12 it was made the permanent state committee. First district, William Adams of Rockport; Second, Joseph Campbell, of Bloomington; Third, Dr. J. B. Stalker, of Borden; Fourth, George L. Jeffries, of Franklin; Fifth, Dr. A. H. Hickman, of Terre Haute; Sixth, Rudolph G. Leeds, of Richmond; Seventh, Harry O. Chamberlin, of Indianapolis; Eighth, Clayte Sells, of Anderson; Ninth, William Holton Dye, of Noblesville; Tenth, E. R. Coffin, of Monticello; Eleventh, Cornelius McGrevey, of Wabash; Twelfth, Louis N. Littman, of Lagrange; Thirteenth, Wilson Rose, of Elkhart, and L. W. Vail, of Goshen. According to Chairman Lee two men were appointed from the Thirteenth to avoid the unlucky number.

Lee was appointed to issue the call for the state convention and have charge of all arrangements for it. The call also included an address to the people setting forth the third party's appeal for support. Headquarters were to be opened at the English Hotel on July 15, but the location was subsequently changed to the Majestic Building before that date. August 1 was named as the date for the state convention. The committee decided to enter the field in every county, nominating congressional, judicial, legislative and county tickets all over the state. One delegate was allowed for every 500 votes cast by all parties at the last general election. According to this ratio the total number would be about 1400. A state committee should be elected by district delegates on the night before the convention. The new committee thus chosen would then elect a state chairman. Recommendations were given for the holding of congressional, county and other local conventions as well as for the nomination of tickets. At the state convention a state ticket would be nominated, a platform drawn up and two delegates-at-large selected to attend the national convention at Chicago, August 5. Considerable opposition to local tickets was manifested, so that a compromise resulted, the committee merely recommending that third party tickets be nominated along with a full set of presidential electors.

July of this year was marked by new party organization all over the state. Most of this activity was to be found in the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth districts where the Progressives were strongest. The work consisted chiefly in perfecting county party machinery by electing chairmen, secretaries and treasurers. Speakers at these meetings regularly denounced the tactics used by the Republican party at its state and national conventions. An address made by Fred Landis at Logansport July 20 illustrates the feeling that existed.

The Indianapolis and Chicago Republican conventions were the greatest reunions of anarchists and pirates that were ever assembled in America. The state convention at Indianapolis looked more like an audience to be addressed by Emma Goldman than a convention of Hoosier citizens. The hall was packed with policemen ready to do the bidding of Taft henchmen who were in control.⁴

⁴ *Indianapolis News*, July 22, 1912.

Other interesting features of the early stages of Progressivism which were characteristic of its entire career are typified by an Indianapolis meeting in Irvington on July 20.⁵ At this meeting men having all sorts of previous political affiliations were present. The list included seven original Taft men, thirteen Roosevelt men, five Democrats, three Prohibitionists, two Socialists and one who styled himself a Wilson Republican. Another feature was the taking of a collection to meet expenses. Each ward was expected to raise twenty-five dollars for committee expenses. According to Willitts A. Bastian, the speaker, there should be no "slush" fund. The Progressive party organization in Indiana was comparatively poor financially most of the time.

The district organizers appointed by Chairman Lee deserved more than ordinary credit for the substantial machinery which they built up within so short a time. Regular Republicans naturally accused the Democrats of "egging" the new movement along. This was true, but the Republicans received honest encouragement as well. From a Democratic viewpoint the Indiana situation presented a united Democracy, a disorganized, disgraced, warring opposition party that had utterly failed to carry out its pledges. For them it was well for the Progressive and Republicans to fight it out, and they quoted approvingly the old proverb "when rogues fall out, just men get their dues." Good Democratic politics therefore dictated the policy of giving aid and comfort to both factions in the enemy's ranks.

Printed programs sent out from the state headquarters gave instructions for the holding of county mass conventions (July 27 and 29) for the purpose of selecting delegates to the state convention, August 1. These gave the apportionment of delegates to the various counties, the locations of district meetings on the night before the convention, the order in which nominations would be made. On the front page of the program was printed "Thou shalt not steal" while on the inside appeared the slogan by the Bull Mooseers, "We would rather be right than regular."

Pro-Bull-Moose reports said "enthusiasm reigned supreme" among the "crowds" attending the conventions. On the other

⁵ Indianapolis *News*, July 22, 1912.

hand conservative reports claimed little enthusiasm except where "manufactured" for the occasion, and that many Democrats and Republicans attended out of curiosity. Almost uniformly the gatherings indorsed Roosevelt for President and Beveridge for governor. The following resolution was passed at Boonville and is typical.

For President of the United States we stand unfalteringly for a man who has been the champion of the plain people for more than thirty years, a man who has never sacrificed the plain people that he might seek the favor of wealth and power, a man who is the embodiment of Democracy, the cowboy, the soldier, the huntsman, the scholar, the writer, the orator and statesman, a man of unusual mental, moral and physical courage, Theodore Roosevelt.⁶

At Huntington the meeting adopted as a platform Clifford Jackman's "contract with the people." The temperance plank held that the liquor traffic is a "moral" question, proposing the initiative and referendum as a permanent solution in the meantime favoring county local option.⁷ Woman suffrage, new nationalism and the elimination of bosses were common planks urged upon the state convention by several counties.

George B. Lockwood, editor of the *Marion Chronicle*, who had accused E. M. Lee and Horace Stilwell of being "Liquor-crats" allies of the Taggart-Crawford Fairbanks machine, probably stirred up the liquor question more than usual at this time. The accused men replied in the following manner:

The statement that we, or either of us, are in sympathy or accord with the Indiana liquor machine, is an unmitigated falsehood, and the person who makes such a statement is guilty of a deliberate and intentional misrepresentation. It is not our purpose to notice every mongrel that may bark, and we only notice this one long enough to say that had we been less citizens and more political hacks we should be found now with Lockwood priding ourselves upon our loyalty to the old party and our disloyalty to our country; boasting of our "regularity" in the face of our party's irregularities; approving theft, dishonesty and fraud and condemning virtue, citizenship and patriotism.

There can be but little doubt but that the question of local third party tickets was the most difficult one which the county conventions had to solve. Those who opposed them claimed

⁶ *Indianapolis News*, July 29, 1912.

⁷ *Indianapolis News*, July 30, 1912.

they would destroy the third party movement in many counties. This, it was argued, would be especially true where Republicans had already nominated their county tickets and where the candidates had already been working on their fences. It seemed unjust to vote against a Progressive candidate nominated by the Republicans simply because he happened to be selected before the time of the new party.

Those advocating the local tickets advanced the theory that the local third partyites could hold over the heads of candidates already nominated the threat of a third ticket in order to force them to agree to support the Bull Moose electoral vote. The fact that some Republican nominees resented this intimidation and that the third party muddle would open the way for effective work by the Democrats added to the unpleasantness of the situation.

In Vanderburg county the Bull Moosers divided into three factions over the local ticket question. One headed by Charles T. Smith who, it was said, didn't want anything injurious done to the Democrats, was not strong for either a state, congressional or county ticket; another headed by Samuel Crumbaker, former state senator, anxious to have a state ticket nominated, did not care about a congressional ticket but opposed a county ticket; while the third group, led by Robert Gore, demanded all kinds of tickets. According to Republican interpretation these three leaders picked their share of the thirty-seven delegates chosen by the county convention for the state gathering, August 8.⁸ However true or false the report, it showed a difference of opinion among Progressives as to the effect third tickets would have upon the success of their cause. The election returns seemed to indicate that Indiana voters, like those from the other states, considered the Progressive issues more national than state or local.

Delegates met by districts on the night of July 31 to elect district members of the various committees, officers of the state convention, district chairmen and candidates for electors. The meetings were but fairly well attended because there were no contests to speak of. The credentials committee which met after the district meetings adjourned having no business before it.

⁸ Indianapolis News, July 30, 1912.

First district: W. F. Adams, of Rockport, was chairman; Monte M. Katterjohn, of Boonville, secretary. Samuel Crumbaker, of Evansville, obtained a coveted place on the Resolutions committee.

Second district: Sentiment was strong for "Beveridge for governor," being brought out in a speech by Judge James B. Wilson, of Bloomington. R. L. Morgan, of Bloomington, was elected permanent chairman of the meeting with George W. Lott, of Vincennes, secretary. Speeches were also made by Dr. Amos S. Hershey, of Indiana University, H. R. Louder, of Bloomfield, and Judge T. J. Terhune, of Linton.

Third district: Washington county was not represented but the room finally became filled. H. C. Poindexter, of Jeffersonville, was chairman. A feeling prevailing that the Third district ought to be represented on the state ticket, Lawson M. Mace was therefore indorsed for attorney general, and Beveridge for governor. According to reports, one speaker in likening Roosevelt to Moses, who would lead the people to victory, became so excited that he dropped his false teeth. He caught them however before they hit the floor. All the counties desired representation of some sort which accounted for the selection of three delegates to the national convention, each with a one-third vote, and three alternates.

Fourth district: Fred Morgan, from Batesville, was made chairman and O. I. Demaree, secretary. There were no contests, all places being filled by acclamation except one instance, that of presidential electors. John Overmyer, of Jennings county, was nominated as well as Captain W. Haiken, of Hope. Overmeyer then withdrew, being placed on the resolutions committee instead. Two delegates to the national convention, with a one-half vote each, were chosen and instructed for Roosevelt. Beveridge and Mace were also indorsed.

Fifth district: There was but little excitement developed in the Fifth district meeting. W. J. Snyder, of Brazil, an alternate delegate to the national convention, made a speech in which he urged the workers to "go back home and button-hole the Democrats." Richard H. Crouch, of Greencastle, later district chairman, presided with John T. Hume, of Danville, as secretary.

Sixth district: Men from the Sixth district discussed the

wet and dry issue for some time. Rudolph Leeds, of Richmond, declared he would not accept a nomination for the resolutions committee if he had to stand for a local option plank. He preferred instead the initiative and referendum issue. F. W. Hemenway, of Union county; G. R. Carter, of Fayette county, and W. R. Steele, of Henry county, well-known temperance men, said they favored the initiative and referendum. Leeds was elected to the resolution committee. William Dudley Foulke in a speech eulogized Roosevelt, but said the new party would have to look out for Wilson whom he characterized as an "honest man." Will Bond, of Richmond, was indorsed for judge of the Fourth Indiana judicial circuit.

Seventh district: Men representing the Seventh Indiana district engaged in a rather long and noisy session. Dr. R. C. Light, of Broad Ripple, acted as chairman. Harry O. Chamberlin, who had been provisional district chairman, was elected to that position permanently. The difficulty arose in electing delegates to the national convention. Lucius B. Swift, a Democrat before 1896, then a Republican until 1912, but finally a Progressive, was chosen as a delegate to the convention as planned prior to the meeting. The same thing was expected in the case of Charles S. Lewis, but since eight names were proposed the delegates voted for four allowing the others to be alternates. The delegates chosen were Swift, Henry Reminger, J. F. Wild and Dr. R. C. Light. The alternates named were Charles S. Lewis, Z. V. Zartman, G. B. Griffey and Dr. G. W. Ward (colored).

Eighth district: Clayte Sells, of Anderson, presided at the Eighth district meeting. He was afterward elected district chairman. Rev. Geo. W. Schraeder, of Winchester, received appointment as the Eighth district's representative on the resolutions committee. Resolutions, including an indorsement of Beveridge, carried.

Ninth district: One contest marked the Ninth district meeting. W. R. Hines, of Frankfort, and Fay Cullens, of Kokomo, were both candidates for the resolutions committee. Cullens was elected. By a vote of 66-43 it was decided to drop county option if the platform committee did not look on it with favor. William H. Dye was elected district chairman with Noel C. Neal, also of Noblesville, secretary, and Charles

Adams, of Kokomo, treasurer of the district committee. August 10 was selected as the date for the district convention.

Tenth district: Delegates from the Tenth district selected Dr. G. R. Coffin, of Monticello, for district chairman. After indorsing Beveridge for governor the name of B. B. Baker, of Monticello, was proposed as a candidate for state treasurer. August 14 was decided upon for the Tenth district convention at Rensselaer.

Eleventh district: John Lawrence, of Peru, acted as temporary chairman. C. E. Spalding, of Winamac, was selected as secretary. After the withdrawal of A. S. Boyer, of Logansport, and J. W. Caswell, of Huntington, William M. Hasty, of Marion, was elected to the resolutions committee.

Twelfth district: Two questions troubled the Twelfth district men. One was county local option while the other was whether Bull Moosers should attend the Republican district convention at Kendallville August 3. Some favored a Progressive candidate for congress on the Republican ticket. Others wanted a candidate of their own. Delegates from Lagrange and Noble counties were opposed to third party county tickets, saying that men already on the Republican ticket were Progressives, and that it would cause strife to ask them to resign. One delegate expressed the real stumbling block when he remarked:

We don't want a third ticket in Lagrange county, because a third ticket would mean that the Democrats would win out, and we don't want any Democrats in the courthouse. There has never been a Democrat in a county office in Lagrange county and we don't want to put any of them there now.

No final decision was arrived at on this issue, but local option followed as soon as possible by state prohibition became the verdict on that question. Louis N. Litman was chosen for district chairman.

Thirteenth district: After Captain Runyan, of Warsaw, had declined it, F. E. Lambert, of South Bend, accepted the district chairmanship at a meeting of delegates from that section. Judge John C. Richter after announcing that he would not seek the congressional nomination for that year was made a candidate for contingent elector.⁹

⁹ Indianapolis News, Aug. 1, 1912.

Members of committees, district chairmen, delegates to the national convention, officers of the convention and candidates for electors, chosen by the various districts were:¹⁰ (Numbers indicate districts.)

Resolutions

1. Samuel Crumbaker.
2. Dr. G. W. Williford.
3. E. C. Dufendach
4. John Overmeyer, Chr.
5. C. S. Eggleston.
6. R. G. Leeds.
7. Willets A. Bastian.
8. Rev. G. W. Schraeder.
9. Fay Cullens.
10. A. F. Knotts.
11. William N. Hasty.
12. Karl M. Newman.
13. Miller Guy.

Rules and Order

1. W. O. Bohannon.
2. Dr. H. R. Lowder.
3. Joseph Ben Herr.
4. William H. Clark.
5. Marion Owen.
6. Elmer Oldaker.
7. L. H. Van Briggles.
8. Robe Carl White.
9. Fred Randolph.
10. Herman Rogers.
11. Dr. M. A. Jordan.
12. E. B. Robinson.
13. J. M. Runyan.

Credentials

1. Rev. M. F. Bierbaum.
2. Wm. R. Williams.
3. J. S. Morgan.
- 4 William H. Newsom.
5. Henry Dorsett.
6. W. J. Hungate.
7. Bert Essex.
8. Charles Dalton.
9. J. W. Dwiggin.
10. Gustave Heat.
11. J. N. Harter.
12. Rudy F. Miller.
13. Edgar Bond.

District Chairmen

1. Monte M. Katterjohn.
2. Jos. H. Campbell.
3. Evan Prosser.
4. Fred Morgan.
5. Richard H. Crouch.
- 6 R. G. Leeds.
7. H. O. Chamberlin.
8. Clayte Sells.
9. William H. Dye.
10. Dr. G. R. Coffin.
11. Cornelius S. McGrevey.
12. Louis N. Littman.
13. F. E. Lambert.

Presidential Electors and Contingents

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Charles F. Smith. | U. H. Seiler. |
| 2. Dr. J. S. Gilkinson. | Marion E. Dugger. |
| 3. J. C. Brown. | Alvin Ward. |
| 4 Capt. W. H. Aiken. | O. E. Carter. |

¹⁰ Indianapolis *Star*, Aug. 1, 1912.

5. Louis McNutt.	Dr. Amos Carter.
6. Samuel Higginbotham.	F. W. Hamenway.
7. Edgar H. Evans.	Jos. K. Sharpe.
8. Al R. Lenich.	Homer Capp.
9. John T. Nixon.	David L. Brookie.
10. S. W. Thompson.	John Bower.
11. Carl S. Wise.	William C. Myers.
12. Dr. Chas. R. Clark.	Jas. M. Harvey.
13. W. J. Dillingham.	John C. Richter.

Vice Presidents

1. W. F. Adams.
2. Jos. E. Henley.
3. Dr. Stocker.
4. J. R. Overstreet.
5. Jas. H. Kerr.
6. Alonzo Havens.
7. Chas. M. Reagan.
8. Otis Judy.
9. J. W. Whicker.
10. A. B. Cray.
11. J. A. Brown.
12. William Longworth.
13. L. W. Bale.

Bull Moose spirit was never more in evidence than in the day of the party's state convention in Indianapolis. The Marion county delegation led by a military band marched from their headquarters to the convention (Tomlinson) hall. On the way they took occasion to serenade the Indianapolis *News*. After a load of little flags had been distributed the delegates were ready for the many demonstrations which followed. Roosevelt's picture hung just above the stage. Two mounted moose heads were displayed as a part of the elaborate decorations.

Mr. Lee as temporary chairman in making an opening address set forth the general frame of mind of those present. "Fellow Moosers," said he "we are here not at the call of any set of bosses. We are here for the birth of a new party and this party stands for social, civic, and political righteousness."¹¹

¹¹ Indianapolis *News*, Aug. 1, 1912.

In introducing Frederick Landis as temporary chairman, Mr. Lee referred to him as a man who had been "a pioneer for some time." The crowd cheered the speaker quite enthusiastically and when the Logansport man referred to Roosevelt as a leader strong enough "to take the government from Wall street back to Washington," an unusual demonstration resulted. After outlining the corrupt condition of the old parties, he proceeded to discuss the Progressive party's tariff views, commission form of city government, woman suffrage, the initiative, referendum and recall. Speaking of the recall he said: "We are not advocating the recall of judges this morning. We say judges must keep their hands clean. The constitution says all men shall have justice in the courts speedily and without delay, but they don't get it."

R. C. White, of Muncie, chairman of the committee on rules and order of business, read the report of that body. It recommended Horace C. Stilwell for permanent chairman. Harvey B. Stout, Jr., permanent secretary. The report was adopted as read.¹² One matter by way of innovation in Indiana state conventions, the selection of a state chairman of a political party by the same delegates who nominated candidates for office, was a striking feature of the report. The naming of the state chairman was placed last on the day's program.

Stilwell, after taking the chair proceeded to business without making a speech. In the roll of counties all were announced as represented by full delegations. The credentials committee report of no contests was adopted. As chairman of the resolutions committee, John Overmyer reported that the platform had been unanimously agreed to. The resolutions at first recommended a Bull Moose head as the party emblem. This was amended to read the Bull Moose instead of the head only. The object being to have "a live thing instead of a dead one." The platform declared for everything that had been preached as "Progressive." After declaring that the liquor question should not be in politics it recommended county option as a

¹² Indianapolis News, Aug. 1, 1912. Order of Business: 1. Call of counties by secretary; 2. Report of credentials and resolutions committees; 3. Selection of four delegates and four alternates at large to national convention; 4. Selection of a presidential elector and two contingent presidential electors at large; 5. Nomination of candidates for state offices; 6. Election of chairman for the Progressive state committee.

remedy for the evil until it could be settled by the initiative and referendum.

Beveridge was placed in nomination for governor by William D. Headrick. During the five minutes time allotted for such speeches Headrick eulogized his candidate as a man always battling for justice, asking no quarter and giving none; accepting no compromise with any enemy with which he was in a fight. He came as one single man to voice the sentiment of the people toward the famous senator who was "the greatest man in the greatest state in America." Motion for a unanimous vote carried by rising and cheers. Similarly the nomination of Fred Landis for lieutenant governor by J. F. Lawrence, of Peru, was made unanimous. Lawson N. Mace, of Scottsburg, was nominated for secretary of state after Solon Enloe, of Hendricks county, withdrew. Harvey E. Cushman, of Washington, a former clerk in the auditor's office, received the nomination for that office. For state treasurer Burdell B. Baker, of Monticello, was named, following the withdrawal of W. E. Vanarsdel, of Greencastle. Other nominations were Clifford F. Jackman, Huntington, for attorney general; Charles E. Spalding, of Winamac, for state superintendent; Thaddeus M. Moore, of Anderson, for state statistician; Frank R. Miller, of Clinton, for reporter of the supreme court; James B. Wilson, of Bloomington, for judge of the supreme court First district; William A. Bond, of Richmond, for judge of supreme court Fourth district; Minor F. Pate, of Bloomfield, for judge of the appellate court First district.

Beveridge in accepting his nomination declared that since he had been chosen to lead the fight he would lead it. He designated the effort as "a crusade for a cause and that cause the cause of the people." If elected he pledged that he would be a "free governor," that "no boss or anti-public influence" would stand between him and the people. "The people do not want things to go on as they have. Everybody knows that neither of the old parties can free American government of its boss system that is sucking out its life. Nothing can do it but a new party fresh from the people, and that is what the Progressive party is. I bid you now go forth and fight in the same spirit our fathers fought, and know that you are battling the greatest power the world has seen. You are fighting for

your fireside against all the vast wealth that has been unjustly wrung from the people."¹³

Former Senator Beveridge, E. M. Lee, R. G. Leeds, Fred Landis, H. C. Stilwell and Judge Perry Bear of Madison were named as delegates at large to the national convention. Harold Hobbs, of Muncie; William F. Adams, of Rockport; E. Warfel, of Richmond; Edgar Baldwin, of Fairmount; Carl Payne and W. D. Calvin, of the Second district, were named as alternate delegates at large. For presidential electors at large Aaron Jones, of South Bend; Lucius B. Swift, of Indianapolis; John Overmeyer, of North Vernon, and William L. Stahl, of Terre Haute, were placed in nomination. Two of these were to be elected, the others becoming contingent electors. Jones and Swift received the highest votes.

The platform as adopted by the convention contained many favorite measures of Colonel Roosevelt and former Senator Beveridge. In state affairs it recommended a conservation commission, trade and agricultural training schools, free school supplies for children, efficient child labor laws, a public utilities commission, workmen's compensation act, home rule for cities with power to adopt their own charters, competitive merit system in state and county civil service, reform of the court procedure, a state library and memorial building, a state inheritance tax, state aid and control of the main roads, the calling of a constitutional convention by the next legislature the delegates to be chosen by a direct popular vote, county local option as temporary relief on the liquor question.

The committee did not adjourn until four A. M. on the convention day. Certain interested parties visited the session in the hope of obtaining recognition of their ideas and claims. The woman suffrage delegation consisted of Dr. Hannah M. Graham, Mrs. A. M. Noe, Mrs. G. N. Carter and Dr. Mary Spink, officers of the Indiana Equal Suffrage association. Mrs. Anna Dunn Noland, President; W. A. Landgraf and George A. Mills represented the central labor union.

C. F. McGrevey, of Wabash, and Fred Landis asked for a good roads plank. Mr. McGrevey asked for an indorsement of a certain scheme as worked out by Clarence A. Kenyon, of

¹³ Indianapolis *News*, Aug. 1, 1912.

Indianapolis. The committee however decided upon a good roads plank but favored no particular plan. A more stringent tramp and vagrancy law was urged by J. W. Caswell, of Huntington.

The Republican defeat in Indiana two years before was attributed to the failure to put a local option clause in the party platform for that campaign. A sub-committee, consisting of Willitts A. Bastian, Rev. George W. Schraeder and Rudolph G. Leeds, appointed to investigate that issue, made its report at ten P. M. Early the Indiana Anti-Saloon League left an impression that the league would not support the new party, even if it should insert a strong county option plank in its platform, unless it refrained from nominating all officers of the state ticket except presidential electors. James E. Cox, of Oakland City, presented the message to the committee stating that he felt sure the league wouldn't support a third ticket under any circumstances.

The Progressives as a whole seemed to be in favor of statewide prohibition, which is indicated by the plank finally adopted providing for the initiative and referendum as a final solution.¹⁴

With the selection of Edwin M. Lee as state chairman, the remarkable convention closed. A new party had been ushered into the field of Indiana politics, equipped with its own state ticket and electors. It was made up mostly of young professional and business men, educators and literary men. Others there were, who might have been classified as disgruntled office seekers, radical reformers and agitators. As one would naturally expect, such a composition must surely dissolve when a number of the measures advocated by it had been put upon the statute books. At this time however there seemed to be no relief in sight so that adherents to the new faith eagerly awaited further developments in the nation and state, the most immediate of which was the national convention at Chicago on August 5-7.

Interest in the national convention was shown by the fact that Indiana Progressives had requested tickets for almost one thousand persons from the state prior to July 26.¹⁵ Of

¹⁴ See Supplement for State Platform.

¹⁵ Statement of John P. Bass in charge of seat sale. *Indianapolis News*, July 29, 1912.

course all of these could not be given, and some individuals perhaps had asked for seat reservations who did not seriously contemplate the paying of ten to twenty-five dollars for it. The committee on local arrangements contemplated charging such a price for spectators in order to meet expenses.¹⁶ Former Senator Beveridge left for the "Windy City" on the night of August 1. As temporary chairman it was necessary that he go early to have everything in readiness for his keynote speech. Edwin M. Lee as state chairman left August 2 to attend a meeting of the national committee. Rudolph G. Leeds, of Richmond, was chosen by the Indiana delegation for the state's national committeeman; William D. Foulke, also of Richmond, for the resolutions committee; Joseph H. Campbell, of Bloomington, for rules committee, and Robe Carl White, of Muncie, for the permanent organization committee. Lucius B. Swift was elected chairman and David Rhodes, of Logansport, secretary of the state delegation. Dr. N. Foster received a place on the presidential notification committee, while W. J. Snyder, of Brazil, was named to help notify the vice-presidential nominee.

Shortly after noon on August 5 (Monday), Ralph C. Otis as temporary chairman of the Progressive national committee, called the convention to order. He soon presented the gavel to Senator Joseph M. Dixon who introduced Mr. Beveridge as the temporary chairman. The "keynote" as delivered by the former Hoosier senator, contained a severe indictment of the party system as it existed in our government. Moreover he set forth in a comprehensive way the Progressive plan for a rehabilitation of our national life.

Pleading for "a nobler America, an undivided nation, a broader liberty, a fuller justice", for "social brotherhood" against "savage individualism", for "intelligent cooperation" against "reckless competition", for "mutual helpfulness" instead of "mutual hatred", for "equal rights as a fact of life" and not "a party catch-word", for the "rule of the people as a practical truth" instead of a "meaningless pretense", and "representative government that represents", the Indiana

¹⁶ Indianapolis News, July 18, 1912.

man made clear his party's intention of "battling for the actual rights of man".

As for the Progressive program the speaker claimed it was one of construction. The party had grown from the soil of the people's hard necessities to do their work and abuse, ridicule and falsehood would only add to its growth. For years the people had been voting only to find their hopes turned to ashes on their lips. What we needed was a new alignment of our electorate along English lines, so that there would be the two divisions of liberals and conservatives or progressive and reactionary. Republican and Democratic legislators would no longer find it difficult to vote together merely because of a nominal difference in party membership. Under the then existing system bosses did not even work for their own parties but for "anti-public interests" whose servants they were. These "anti-public interests" constituted what Beveridge was pleased to call "the invisible government behind our visible government".

Furthermore our old parties had kept alive the spirit of sectionalism. The "tragedy" of our history had been continued. Men from the southland voted as "dead tradition and a local fear" instead of "conviction and national faith". It was the object of Progressives to break down this partition so that southerners could vote with northerners on our national problems.

In business the Progressives intended to tell the business men what they might do and what they might not do. Laws were to be made clear and not "foggy", stating plainly what things were criminal and what lawful. Another reform was proposed in the advocacy of a permanent tariff commission. Progressive theory held that the tariff should be high enough to give American producers the American market and low enough to enable foreign manufacturers a chance to compete in case American manufacturers made dishonest goods and dishonest prices.

The American government should control moral problems and conserve our resources both human and material. This done there was not the slightest doubt but what a "braver, fairer, cleaner, and purer America" would come; that "a

better and brighter life for all beneath the flag" would be achieved. "Those who now scoff soon will pray. Those who now doubt soon will believe, and soon the night will pass, and when to the sentinel on the ramparts of liberty the anxious ask 'Watchman what of the night?' his answer will be 'Lo the morn appeareth' ".¹⁷

The national convention was more of a ratification meeting than a convention. Those present knew what they wanted to do so they were not long in doing it. Another Indiana man who broke into the flame of oratory was Frederick Landis of Logansport, candidate for lieutenant governor of the state. His opportunity came in seconding the nomination of Gov. Hiram Johnson of California as the vice-presidential candidate. In the course of his remarks he gave the opinion that Indiana would go for Roosevelt by some 30,000 at the November election.¹⁸ The platform was thoroughgoing in its declaration of principles. It purported to be a real covenant with the people. Recommending an easier mode of amending the constitution, it proceeded to urge such amendments as popular election of United States senators, and presidential preference primaries giving voters the opportunity to nominate as well as to vote for candidates. Equal suffrage was indorsed and also legislation against corrupt practices, for the publicity of campaign expenditures and the improvement of public service. Other important planks were for the improvement of court procedure, the administration of justice both social and industrial, creation of a department of labor, improvement of country life, lowering the high cost of living, the improvement of health, regulation of business, patents and currency, an interstate commerce commission, further commercial development, good roads and waterways, inheritance and income taxes, parcels post, the extension of civil service regulations, movements toward peace as well as for national defense, and government supervision of investments.

Upon these principles and on the "recognized desirability" of uniting the progressive forces of the nation into an organization which would unequivocally represent the progressive

¹⁷ Indianapolis *News*, Aug. 5, 1912. *Star*, Aug. 6. Beveridge "Keynote."

¹⁸ Indianapolis *News*, Aug. 8, 1912.

spirit and policy, the Progressives appealed for the support of all American citizens, without regard to previous political affiliations.

The Indiana Republican state convention was held in Indianapolis, August 6. Most delegates sent up were uninstructed. At Carmel, Hamilton county, the Progressives claimed to have elected some as Moosers but the regulars denied the assertion. However it appeared that in Laurel and Blooming Grove townships the Bull Moosers took snap judgment on the regular Republicans (August 3) and went through the formality of selecting delegates to the Republican state convention. In Jeffersonville township, Clark county, a number of veteran leaders who had been absent for some four years, while the Beveridge men were in control, came out again for the fray. The regulars claimed that both factions would work in harmony again because many followers of the former Indiana senator had refused to follow him into the Bull Moose camp.^{18a}

James E. Watson made the keynote speech as temporary chairman. Referring to the new party he declared that it demanded "new methods, not new policies". Only two issues existed according to his interpretation. First the question of one man power and second the maintenance of constitutional government.

After a compromise on the primary election plank the resolutions committee found it possible to adopt the majority report in favor of county option. A woman's suffrage plank carried eight to five. Many of the planks were similar to those adopted by the Progressives. The recall of judges was not favored but rather a law looking toward the removal of incompetent officials. While the committee favored enforcement of the Sherman Anti-Trust act it also urged an amendment to clarify its provisions. The Chicago platform was approved.

By denouncing extravagance in the state administration, by favoring extension of the corrupt practices act, the limitation of the application of the new registration law, non-partisan management of state institutions, establishment of

^{18a} Indianapolis *News*, Aug. 5, 1912.

district work house, extension of public utilities commission to other public service corporations than the railroads, industrial and agricultural education, labor legislation with a commissioner of labor, an efficient inspection department, child labor laws, better sanitation, workmen's compensation act, pure food laws, commission form of city government, woman suffrage, good roads under state supervision and an auto tax, conservation and forestry in Indiana, a centennial building, and a constitutional convention, the resolutions were very progressive in their content.

Candidates for the gubernatorial nomination were numerous. Among those mentioned to head the ticket were David W. Henry and W. W. Parsons of Terre Haute, Ex-Governor W. T. Durbin of Anderson, Samuel L. Shank of Indianapolis, George B. Lockwood of Marion, Walter Olds of Fort Wayne, Charles A. Carlisle of South Bend, James Wade Emison of Vincennes, Addison C. Harris of Indianapolis, L. C. Embree of Princeton, Hugh T. Miller of Columbus and John C. Chaney of Sullivan. Out of this assortment Colonel Durbin was chosen. His success as a business man, his ability as an organizer and his financial record while in that office were counted upon to help him considerably in the campaign. The Anti-Saloon league ultimately gave its support to his nomination.

As time passed by it became necessary for the Progressives to make up their minds definitely on the question of third party local tickets. Chairman Lee urged that candidates be nominated in every county but his constituents were about evenly divided as to the advisability of such a move. The general dread was due to a fear that the local Republican organization would be weakened. This was especially true in Lagrange, Noble, and Marion counties. Many of the regulars in these counties desiring above all else to keep the Democrats out, endeavored to show that it was a question of keeping local and national issues separated. In Democratic counties third tickets were opposed because there was little hope of victory with the Republican forces united. In Republican counties any weakening of Republican strength might mean defeat, but in these the Progressives had the greatest hope of success.

Spencer county led in the First district with a full Progressive ticket. Martin, Monroe and Morgan counties displayed the most third ticket sentiment in the Second district while Lawrence county, being the only Republican county in the Third hesitated from fear of Democratic triumph. Jefferson, Jennings, Decatur and Switzerland counties of the Fourth district showed a satisfaction with the regular Republican nominees. Putnam of the Fifth, and Fayette, Henry, Rush and Union counties of the Sixth district had been centers of Bull Moose activity but third tickets were not looked upon there with much favor. Wayne county in the latter district with a strong Progressive organization was able to put out a successful ticket. Henry county finally put up nominees but they were not able to get as much as second place. Boone, Carroll, Clinton, Hamilton and Tipton counties of the Ninth district nominated tickets. Lake, Porter and White counties were the only ones in the Tenth district to name local candidates. Madison and Delaware counties led the Eighth district in the new venture, being followed by Randolph. In the Eleventh district a strong fight was made for a third ticket in Cass, Miami, Grant, Huntington and Wabash counties but it failed in the two last named. Blackford being so strongly Democratic received but little attention. The Twelfth district was almost as unanimous against third party tickets as it was for Roosevelt delegates to the Republican national convention. A peculiar situation existed in the Thirteenth district where the Republican county committee in control of the Progressives insisted upon no further nominations than those already made by the old party. Laporte county was Democratic but put up a ticket as did Elkhart and Fulton. Elsewhere no leadership developed to bring out additional candidates.

THE CAMPAIGN

Tickets having been made up by the various parties they were ready to begin an active canvass for votes. Indiana as usual would be one of the fiercest battlefields. The Progressive leaders planned four general headquarters from which to direct the national campaign. These were at Chicago, New York, New Orleans and San Francisco. Indiana

naturally came under the supervision of the Chicago center but the state also had a representative in the New York office so that the fight to control the state was directed from both places.¹⁹

The campaign was not altogether of the "clap-trap" variety neither did it have "gum shoe" characteristics. It was preëminently an educational program.²⁰ More individuals took an active interest in the issues than was usual for Indiana. The Democrats especially were out in force being encouraged by the hope of victory. It pleased them also to see all opponents thrive so they gave encouragement to each one.²¹

Frank B. Doudican of Indianapolis had charge of the speakers' bureau at the Bull Moose state headquarters. Some speakers on his list were Clifford F. Jackman of Huntington, George W. Thompson of Bluffton, Thomas A. Daily, George W. Galvin, W. D. Headrick and W. H. Van Briggles of Indianapolis, Judges James B. Wilson of Bloomington and T. J. Terhune of Linton, William D. Foulke and Rudolph G. Leeds of Richmond, Frederick Landis of Logansport and Albert J. Beveridge, nominee for governor.

Chairman E. M. Lee sent out a call for a meeting of the state committee and party workers at the state headquarters on August 30. At this time the leaders had a general discussion of conditions over the state and made plans for the campaign. A number of county chairmen, vice-chairmen, and secretaries also attended. The campaign was expected to be a costly one so that an appeal went out to the uttermost parts of the state for money. Contributions were to be sent to J. F. Wild who was treasurer of the state committee.

Colonel Roosevelt visited Indiana twice for short speeches. On September 3, following the Vermont campaign, he passed through the state via Muncie, Indianapolis and Terre Haute on his way to Illinois. He was enthusiastically received at each stop, many admirers crowding into the Union station at Indianapolis in order to see him. Frank H. Funk, of Bloomington, Illinois, candidate for governor of that state, and

¹⁹ Indianapolis *News*, Aug. 14, 1912.

²⁰ Logan Esarey, *History of Indiana*, II, p. 1060.

²¹ Indianapolis *News*, Sept. 25, 1912.

Chauncey Dewey of Chicago boarded the train to accompany their leader on the remainder of his trip to St. Louis.

Later, on October 4, the former President spoke briefly at Gary. Party managers had planned for him to return for at least one large meeting in Indiana in order to keep certain voters from falling out of line. The date for this meeting was fixed as October 15. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Roosevelt was wounded by a shot fired by a would-be assassin, John Schrank, just outside the Gilpatric Hotel in Milwaukee, on the evening preceding his Indiana engagement. Mr. Beveridge filled an appointment for him at Louisville, October 16, and made a pathetic appeal concerning the wounded chief.

Plans were made by the speakers' bureau for Governor Hiram Johnson of California to make a tour of the state beginning at Terre Haute on the night of September 18, and to include seven congressional districts. Speeches were made the following day (September 19) at Sullivan, Vincennes, Princeton, Evansville, Oakland City, Washington, Mitchell, Bedford, Bloomington, Martinsville and Indianapolis. A tour for the next day to include Noblesville, Tipton, Kokomo, Marion, Anderson and Richmond was cancelled by the governor who proceeded into New England expecting to return to California in October. Landis and William Headrick substituted for the vice-presidential nominee, explaining as the Republicans said "Why Johnson left Indiana so suddenly".²² Speeches made by the Californian in southern Indiana during his tour were replete with utterances of political irony bordering upon sarcasm.

Albert J. Beveridge, for twelve years United States senator from Indiana, this year the Progressive nominee for governor, made a brilliant campaign for that office. Good audiences greeted him in practically all parts of the state. His championship of the new party's cause, coupled with a recognized oratorical ability and his strong personal following help to account for this. In the beginning he emphasized the need of organization. He intended to give the best he had to the cause and expected others to do likewise. Many of his

²² Indianapolis *News*, Sept. 20, 1912. Indianapolis *Star*, Sept. 20, 1912.

speeches were made at the various district nominating conventions of the party. The gist of his thoughts was that the Progressive policies should be indorsed by the people since the old line parties were corrupt and could not be trusted to carry out any pledges which they might make.

In the course of his speech at Portland, September 10, he was interrupted by Sumner W. Haynes of that city and candidate on the Prohibition ticket for judge of the supreme court, who asked why the Bull Moosers had copied in their platform so much from the platform of the Prohibitionists. In reply the former senator said "many good things have appeared in the Prohibitionist platform for the last twenty years and I do not regard them as the property of any party".²³

The real opening speech of Beveridge's campaign was made in Tomlinson Hall, Indianapolis, on September 7. He declared that the "Boss System" in Indiana had "kept on the statute books the railway road tax law by which out of one hundred dollars the railroads are supposed to pay we get fifteen dollars worth of poor work done on our roads". The argument for good roads was frequently used in the northern part of the state. Congressman William E. Cox of the Third district claimed to be the pioneer in the good roads movement and accused Mr. Beveridge as being a late convert, but at any rate the evil still existed.

Another evil which the ex-Senator asked to have remedied was the existing method of supplying school books. He urged free books to all children. An Indianapolis *News* editorial²⁴ attacked this proposal as tending to tax the poor in order to buy books for wealthy children.

At Logansport, September 14, where one-third of the audience was women Beveridge reiterated the Progressive plea for woman suffrage. Mrs. Anna B. Noland, president of the State Suffragist association made a short speech just before he was introduced. On the previous evening Mrs. W. Reed, secretary of the Warsaw school board had presented him to the audience there. Before the Franchise league at Tomlinson Hall, September 16, the candidate pledged himself to work for many kinds of social reforms. "Trust me for

²³ Indianapolis *News*, Sept. 10, 1912.

²⁴ Indianapolis *News*, Oct. 8, 1912.

it when I say, that I am going to be called the fighting governor of Indiana if the people of the state elect me to the office", was his statement to a Tipton audience, September 14.²⁵

The trusts were discussed in his speeches at Valparaiso, Laporte and South Bend. "We could not destroy big business concerns if we would and should not if we could". Speaking of the steel trust, Mr. Beveridge declared against breaking it up by saying "I do not believe the plan is any more feasible than to cut off a man's legs, his hands and his head and then by some kind of hocus-pocus in the form of legal enactment tell him to go and make a success of himself".²⁶

The leading features of the Democratic campaign were the active canvass made by Samuel M. Ralston, candidate for governor, and the tactful use made of Woodrow Wilson's brief visits. Mr. Ralston began his speechmaking on August 30, at Anderson where he read a carefully prepared paper giving the Democratic tariff and finance doctrine. Platforms and administrations of his opponents received their share of criticism but personalities were avoided. Romus F. Stuart, of the Democratic state speakers' bureau arranged a full schedule for the Lebanon man which took him into all parts of the state. He seldom neglected to mention the tariff in his speeches. In state politics he maintained that his party had enacted a school book and tax law in spite of strenuous Republican opposition. On September 30, he was so impressed with the hope of triumph as to declare: "They can't beat me, I am having fine meetings. I have been practically all over the state, and I find Democratic prospects excellent."²⁷

Woodrow Wilson made some brief addresses while passing through the state on September 16, chief among them being at Hartford City and Logansport. On the nineteenth of the month he stopped at Michigan City, long enough to shake hands with a number of admirers, while en route to Detroit. Later on, October 3, he appeared to an exceptionally large gathering in Indianapolis at the Washington ball park. He had come to make an address at the National Conservation

²⁵ *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 16, 1912.

²⁶ *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 19, 1912.

²⁷ *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 30, 1912.

Congress then in session. On the following day he proceeded northward making speeches at Kokomo and Peru.

William J. Bryan permitted the use of his talents in the Indiana fight from October 16 to 18. Ollie James, a Kentucky senator, spoke on October 5 at Vincennes and Evansville. On September 27 Senator Thomas P. Gore of Oklahoma arrived in Indianapolis from Battle Creek, Michigan, for a general "whoop-'em-up" meeting at Tomlinson Hall. The blind senator argued for support of the principles of Democracy. There were according to his version three kinds of Progressives (1) those infatuated by Roosevelt's personality; (2) those who in the fortunes of war and in the vicissitudes of politics, had fallen outside the breastworks of the regular Republican party; and (3) those who believed the new party offered an avenue of reform. Some of the latter were "Democrats without courage".²⁸

Other Democratic speakers were Senator John W. Kern and Benjamin Shively who while not seeking reelection were anxious to see Wilson carry the state and with it the full quota of Democratic congressmen. Former government chemist Dr. Harvey W. Wiley of Indiana, who had heretofore been a Republican came out in this campaign for Wilson. He began a five days speaking tour October 2, at Greencastle.

The Republican state committee held a conference at Indianapolis, September 4, to make plans for the campaign. They determined upon an aggressive effort throughout the state. All county committees were to be purged of Progressive members. Fred S. Buggie, an elector from the Sixth district, was removed because of being a Bull Mooser.²⁹ In an address to the people the committee asked why anyone should desert the grand old party that had done so much for the country. It was announced that Colonel W. T. Durbin would deliver the keynote of his campaign at Marion, September 12.

In his opening address Mr. Durbin endeavored to show that the country was prosperous under Republican rule. The last twelve years of its supremacy in Indiana were referred to as a period in which the state's business was economically administered and when its institutions flourished under non

²⁸ Indianapolis *News and Star*, Sept. 28, 1912.

²⁹ Indianapolis *Star*, Sept. 5, 1912; Indianapolis *News*, Sept. 4, 1912.

partisan administration. "We can clean our own house, and we do not have to tear down the foundations to do it. If there are bed bugs in the temple of liberty (as Beveridge has intimated) let us use insect powder and not dynamite".³⁰ During the greater part of October the former governor visited practically every nook and corner of the state south of Indianapolis using his automobile most of the time.

The work in each district was largely in the hands of its organization consisting of the chairman, the nominee for congress and one or more experienced organization men from within the district or elsewhere. The Republican orators who came into the state were directed by these local organizations while within their jurisdiction. Some of these visitors were Warren G. Harding, of Ohio; Richard H. Langford, of Nebraska; P. T. Colgrove, of Michigan; Senator Theodore E. Burton, of Ohio; Representative Philip P. Campbell, of Kansas; Ebenezer J. Hill, of Connecticut; Alexander C. Rankin, of Chicago; Julius C. Burrows of Michigan; Dr. Samuel Blair, of Missouri; Mahlon M. Garland, of Pittsburgh; and secretary of Agriculture, James Wilson. These speakers were selected because of their particular fitness to discuss certain subjects. Mr. Campbell and Mr. Hill for example were on the "tariff special", which trailed Wilson, and which followed him north from Indianapolis after his visit on October 3 and 4.³¹ Some of Indiana's best home talent added to the fire-works from the stump. The list included in addition to congressional nominees, former Vice-president Charles W. Fairbanks; former Governor J. Frank Hanly; Ed Jackson, candidate for secretary of state; Charles A. Carlisle, Ele Stansbury candidate for attorney general, John C. Chaney of Sullivan, James F. Stutesman of Peru, and former Representative James E. Watson.

In the First district the campaign centered about the congressional race between Charles Lieb, Democrat, of Rockport; Daniel Ortmeier, Republican of Evansville and Humphrey C. Heldt, Progressive of Oakland City. Oscar Bland, Republican, made a strong effort to dislodge Representative W. A. Cullop in the Second district. John Napier Dyer was

³⁰ *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 12, 1912.

³¹ *Indianapolis News*, Oct. 5, 1912.

the Progressive candidate. No spectacular efforts resulted in either the Third, Fourth or Fifth districts where there was little chance for Republican or Progressive success.

The Progressive cause in the Sixth district was handicapped because of the third ticket difficulty. Moreover the party there had trouble in securing a nominee for congress whose past record would not be criticised. Joseph A. Greenstreet was first chosen. Charges were brought against his business integrity while he was connected with the Charter Oak Handle Company of Richmond some years ago. At a meeting, September 7, Mr. Greenstreet offered to resign in the interest of harmony. His friends urged him to withhold his formal resignation until a meeting of the district committee, September 14, in Connersville. On the latter date his attorney W. R. Steele, who appeared with him, announced that his client refused to withdraw. The committee however declared that the former verbal resignation had been accepted and set September 23 as the date for another district convention to be held there, at which time a successor would be named. Gierluf Jansen, of Greenfield, a former Methodist minister, was chosen to head the congressional ticket when the convention met on the date fixed by the district committee. Finley H. Gray, the Democratic nominee for reelection, merely rested on his oars, for the rift in the Republican party meant almost certain victory. William L. Risk of New Castle headed the Republican ticket. At the Henry county Progressive convention not a little disorder was experienced when members from five different townships bolted, forming an "Independent Progressive Party". Cries of "machine", "Road Roller" and "Bossism" were reported because of objections to nominating a third county ticket. Mr. Greenstreet, who on the day before had been discarded as the party's candidate for congress, was named for Representative from the county.³²

Similar difficulty was experienced in the Seventh district, when it came to selecting a congressional candidate. In the nominating convention, September 14, Harry O. Chamberlin, U. Z. Wiley, Henry Riesenberg, W. D. Headrick, John F. Geck-

³² Indianapolis *Star*, Sept. 25, 1912; Indianapolis *News*, Sept. 24, 1912.

ler, and Willetts A. Bastian were placed in nomination. Wiley was nominated on the second ballot over Geckler after the other men had withdrawn. Some opposition to Wiley soon developed because of an alleged "unclean" record as a lawyer and judge. He declined the nomination therefore in a letter to county chairman Chamberlin.³³ John V. Zartman was the strongest opponent of Mr. Geckler for the vacant place when the district convention met in September to make another nomination. The records of both men were thoroughly scanned and Zartman received the prize by a vote of 106 to 34. Election returns showed that he was one of the three Progressive congressional candidates to run second in the November election.³⁴

E. C. Toner, editor of the *Anderson Herald* was nominated for congress by the Progressives of the Eighth district, August 27, at Muncie. His opponents in the campaign were Representative J. A. M. Adair (Democrat) of Portland, and Isaac P. Watts (Representative) of Winchester. Progressive strength in the more populous counties enabled him to poll a substantial vote for second place.³⁵

John F. Neil of the Hamilton county circuit court led the Progressives in the Ninth district. The Republicans and Democrats made vigorous campaigns and as elsewhere the third ticket issue figured against the Noblesville man. In the Tenth district Democratic unity and the personal popularity of Edgar D. Crumpacker, former Republican Representative tended to diminish the support given to John O. Bowers of White county as the Progressive nominee.

The Progressives made a fair campaign in the Eleventh and Twelfth districts. In the former Edgar M. Baldwin was nominated for congress when the party convention met at Peru, September 11. Leroy Johnson of Logansport and Rev. William E. Shafer of Bunker Hill were his opponents for the nomination. Baldwin was editor of the *Fairmount News*. Louis N. Littman of Lagrange led the Twelfth district Progressive offensive. Although he had a good following in his own and Allen counties the majority of former Republicans

³³ *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 23, 1912.

³⁴ *Report of Secretary of State*, 1912, 119.

³⁵ *Report of Secretary of State*, 1912, 120.

evidently preferred to vote regular when it came to that office.³⁶ The Thirteenth district gave Dr. R. Clarence Stephens of Plymouth, second place on election day as the Progressive congressional nominee. He received however only 37 more votes than Charles A. Carlisle, the Republican candidate. Henry A. Barnhart, Democratic candidate for re-election was returned by a plurality of 11,144.³⁷

Democratic success was almost entirely complete. The Republican split enabled that party to elect a complete state ticket. Samuel M. Ralston was elected governor with 275,357 votes as against 166,124 for Mr. Beveridge and 142,850 for Colonel Durbin. The personal following commanded by the Progressive leader is evident from a comparison of the above vote with that for the first presidential elector, he having received over 4,000 more votes than were cast for Roosevelt in the state.³⁸

John W. Judkins had the honor of being the only Progressive elected to the General Assembly. He was elected from Wayne county, one of the strongest centers of Progressivism in the state. The new party made a fair showing also in the Dekalb, Delaware, Clark, Crawford, Fayette, Floyd, Hancock, Johnson, Kosciusco, Lake, Lawrence, Madison, Marion, Miami, St. Joseph, Vigo and Wabash county elections.³⁹

The upheaval had seriously affected only one party, the Republican. That party was about evenly divided. Its local candidates as a rule polled more votes than the Progressives. Men who had formerly voted the Socialist or Prohibitionist tickets did not make a change this year. In fact each of these showed gains, the former annexing some 23,455 adherents.⁴⁰ No doubt some independent voters supported that ticket for such voters are not backward in doing so if their own party doesn't hew to the line of reform and persists in following old time methods which are objectionable to these discriminating and obstinate voters.

For some reason the total vote in Indiana fell short about 66,653 of that cast in 1908. There should rather have been

³⁶ *Report of Secretary of State*, 1912, 121.

³⁷ *Report of Secretary of State*, 1912, 121.

³⁸ *Report of Secretary of State*, 1912, 93.

³⁹ *Vote for Electors, Report of Secretary of State*, 1908-12.

⁴⁰ *Indianapolis News*, Nov. 6, 1912.

a material increase during the four year period of about 35,000. Different reasons have been assigned for the slump. Illegal voting in 1908 may have exaggerated the poll of that year, yet in spite of the heated campaign and the vigorous efforts by the parties an unexpected apathy developed among the voters. Under the new registration law of that year some 743,000 had registered, of these a number were illegally enrolled. To offset the number of illegal registrants party leaders estimated that perhaps as many as 50,000 men failed to register at all. Again, the combined Republican and Progressive votes amounted to 313,274 or 31,384 in excess of the Democratic total. This was 25,719 less than the Republicans mustered in 1908, while the Democratic loss was 56,372.⁴¹

The position of the Progressive candidates on the ballot was the same as that formerly held by the People's party, being fourth place, following the Prohibitionists. At their national convention, August 13, at St. Louis, the Populists had adopted a platform which the Progressives had already anticipated with the exception of direct issuance of money to people, and the granting of franchises by popular votes. When that party, therefore, decided not to make the fight the Progressives very appropriately took its position on the ballot and no doubt a large per cent of its votes⁴².

Anti-liquor forces were very active during the campaign. Many opposed T. R. Marshall as Democratic candidate for Vice-President because the state contained more "wet" territory under his administration than during the Hanly regime.⁴³ Eugene W. Chafin of Arizona and Aaron S. Watson of Ohio were nominees of the Prohibition party for President and Vice-President. From headquarters at South Bend the former conducted an energetic campaign throughout the northern part of the state. Prohibitionists remained true to their party and their increased strength indicated little divergence into the other ranks.

As has been previously suggested the Socialists as a rule voted as they were accustomed. They had hopes of polling a heavy vote if the members could be kept in line. The

⁴¹ *Secretary of State Reports*, 1908 and 1912.

⁴² *Indianapolis News*, Aug. 14, 1912.

⁴³ *Indianapolis News*, July 3, 1912.

national convention nominating Eugene V. Debs for President and Emil Seidel for Vice-President was held at Indianapolis, May 12-13. Mr. Debs was from Terre Haute and had a large following throughout the state.

Stephen M. Reynolds, candidate for governor, in a speech at Petersburg, Indiana, July 11, clearly set forth his party's attitude toward the Republicans, Progressives and Democrats. They opposed the Progressives and blamed Republican leaders for the condition of their party. So far as Bryan's victory in securing Wilson's nomination was concerned, it was destined to a short life for the big interests would soon gain control of the Democratic machinery.⁴⁴ The Socialists could therefore see no hope in either of the old parties so they voted straight.

The State Alliance of German societies in session at Lafayette, September 2, denounced the Bull Moose stand on local option. President Joseph Keller said:

We will never rest until the temperance question is taken out of politics. This may be done by fighting those political parties that insist on keeping it in politics. We are against it now as we were four years ago when we defeated county option. We will never bury the hatchet until county option is dead. Two parties in Indiana have put it into their platforms and we will fight them both. This does not mean that we are all Democrats for a majority of the delegates here today are Republicans. We are against Hanlyism in every form.⁴⁵

In a resolution adopted at the meeting, members of the Alliance were admonished to vote for neither Progressive nor Republican candidates on the state ticket.

The Woman Suffrage issue did not influence the Indiana vote to any marked extent because since it had not been granted in this state the women could not express any preferences at the polls. They could merely agitate and this they did, not however in favor of one party to the exclusion of all others. The Woman's Franchise league made an active publicity campaign in favor of their cause. The members declared that they would support those candidates who were in favor of giving women the right to vote and oppose those who were not so disposed. It was a case of supporting friendly candidates

⁴⁴ Indianapolis News, July 12, 1912.

⁴⁵ Quoted in Indianapolis News, Sept. 2, 1912.

and not parties.⁴⁶ There were national suffrage organizations behind each of the three leading tickets so that no one could fail to detect their divided allegiance. Miss Alice Carpenter, of Brookline, Massachusetts, and Miss Frances I. Keller, of Brooklyn, New York, headed the one allied with the Progressives. Mrs. Borden Harriman that with the Democrats and Miss Helen V. Baswell that with the Republicans.⁴⁷ The Progressives of Indiana gave more heed to suffrage argument than either of its antagonists. Mr. Beveridge seldom failed to speak in its favor in his lengthy speeches. On September 16 he delivered the main oration before a suffrage meeting in Tomlinson hall where he had opened his campaign on the 5th, with Dr. Amelia R. Keller, President of the Franchise league, as temporary chairman.

More than ordinary publicity was given Progressive doctrine during the campaign. The *Toledo Blade*, *Cleveland Leader*, *Chicago Post* and *Louisville Herald* had some readers in the state to absorb Progressive sentiment from their pages. On August 20 Chairman Lee called Bull Moose editors to Indianapolis in order to form an Editorial association. B. R. Inman of the *Middletown News*, who had charge of promoting the organization, was elected president of it. Edgar M. Baldwin of the *Fairmount News* was named as his assistant. Mr. Inman claimed forty editors would support the cause besides about twenty-five more giving partial support. Some Republican editors, declared the president, had written to him declaring that they would be for a Republican county ticket but would support the Bull Moose national ticket and vice versa. Before adjourning, a constitution, by-laws and resolutions to be followed by the new party press were agreed upon. Progressive papers in the state in addition to those mentioned were the *Anderson Herald*, *Progressive News* (Marion), *Grandview Monitor*, *Morning News* from press of *Crawfordsville Review* (brief existence), *National Progressive* of Bedford, the *White County Progressive* of Monticello and a Progressive organ for Boone county published at Lebanon.

It is almost as difficult to explain the source of Progressive voters as that of the proverbial wind. Most of them were

⁴⁶ *Indianapolis News*, Aug. 12, 1912.

⁴⁷ *Indianapolis News*, Sept. 6, 1912.

Republicans as the abstract of the vote shows. Some Democrats gave their votes to the cause but it would not be safe to assume that a very large number did so. The chance for the success of their own party, under a leader whom they considered progressive, was too great for them to disregard. Had Democracy been led by a recognized reactionary there is no doubt but that the verdict of November 5 would have been different. As it was the Progressive movement reached the summit of its strength within thirteen weeks of its inauguration as a separate political organization.

The public generally was content with the results. The Democratic party had been reinstated with complete control of practically all departments of government. It was now expected to use that control wisely. The Republicans felt that they were merely repulsed but not whipped. They were not dispersed, but hoped in time to be reinforced and even in the next fight to win.⁴⁸ Progressives felt about the same about it. Governor Johnson expressed their belief by referring to the result as "of little more consequence to the ultimate success of earnest men than was the missing of a train."⁴⁹ Sincere and earnest Progressives were already beginning to plan for the future. If a longer time and a more complete organization of party machinery were necessary for success they were resolved to take advantage of both.

MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS OF 1913 and CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1914.

Before the enthusiasm aroused by the recent campaign had time to wane, Progressive leaders started to rally their forces for a second encounter. On November 28 a meeting was held in Castle hall, Indianapolis, the Marion county headquarters. Precinct and ward committeemen attended. Willitts A. Bastian as county chairman had appointed a committee to outline a plan for maintaining in power the existing county organization.

⁴⁸ *Indianapolis News*, Durbin's comment, Nov. 25, 1912.

⁴⁹ *Indianapolis News*, Nov. 8, 1912.

The committee consisting of Taylor Groninger, Harry Chamberlin, Thomas A. Daily, Z. V. Zartman and W. D. Headrick reported a scheme whereby the 1912 officials would have charge of the city campaign of 1913. These resolutions were adopted as presented and provided: That the county chairman continue as temporary chairman of the city committee with full power to appoint and remove members or make any changes; that no compromise or fusion with any other party should be made but that a separate organization should be maintained; that a full city ticket should be nominated in 1913, the Progressives demanding their rights and prerogatives in all coming elections and in all future county or city bipartisan appointments. To support the management a movement was started to get two hundred workers to give twenty-five dollars each toward a general fund.¹

At a meeting of the Madison county Progressive club, December 5, Horace C. Stilwell vice-chairman of the state central committee read a draft of rules to govern the new party in Indiana. These rules were drawn up by a sub-committee of the state committee, of which Stilwell was a member, and were to be submitted to the state organization for adoption, December 16.²

Before the state central committee met to consider reorganization measures a national Progressive conference was held at Chicago, December 1911. Albert J. Beveridge delivered the principal address on the night of December 10. An ad-

¹ Indianapolis News, Nov. 29, 1912.

² Indianapolis News, Dec. 6, 1912. Rules to be submitted by the sub-committee: The state committee should consist of fifteen members, one from each congressional district and two at large. District, county and township rules were practically the same as those then in use. For city committees, provision was made for ward organizations with chairman, secretary and treasurer for each. Precinct committeemen were to elect congressional chairman instead of township delegates. For the city organization the rules provided precinct elections be held on the second Tuesday of February each year of a city election; that the precinct committeeman shall meet on the first Thursday after the second Tuesday of February, and again on Saturday following to elect chairmen, secretaries and treasurers of the city committees.

For the county organization precinct committeemen were to meet on the second Tuesday of each January of the even numbered years, the district organization to be effected on the third Tuesday of January of every even-numbered year; the county organization to be perfected on the first Saturday after the second Tuesday in January. The resolutions provided for the recall of any committee for specific reasons such as, the unlawful use of money, use of position for factional or partisan purposes, unfair means on elections, or interference with affairs of the party or of any Progressive.

dress by Mr. Roosevelt showed that the Progressive goal was to defeat the Democrats if possible. In order to do this steps were taken to inaugurate what was called the "Progressive Service" of six bureaus.³ By introducing Progressive measures through this "service" they hoped to make the Democrats either accept or reject them in either case to the advantage of the new party.

The Progressive state committee meeting on December 16 adopted the plan of organization drawn up by its sub-committee.⁴ Taking a cue from the Chicago conference's action of the previous week, a legislative committee of thirty members was selected to work for Progressive legislation in Indiana.⁵ E. A. Rumley of Laporte and W. C. Bobbs of Indianap-

³ Indianapolis News, Dec. 10, 1912. The following were the six bureaus to be organized: 1. Education and publicity, press, literature, speakers, party literature, speakers, party bulletins, special and college work. 2. Legislative reference research, drafting bills and legislation. 3. Social and industrial service having supervision of persons and movements for labor, children, social insurance and immigration. 4. Conservation of national resources, health, country, life, corporations, tariff and taxation. 6. Popular government, direct legislation, suffrage, judicial reform, economy and efficiency. News, Dec. 12. The conference also decided: 1. To establish national headquarters at New York and a branch at Washington. 2. To establish a legislative reference bureau under a committee of three appointed by the executive committee. 3. To adopt the initiative of measures by twenty-five per cent. of the national committee members and the recall of national officers by a majority vote of the committee. Such recommendations also made for state organizations. 5. That the Progressive party invites all members of all legislatures to join in the support of progressive measures and men. 4. That the national executive committee arrange the states into compact, convenient, geographical divisions and provide for organization and conferences of national committeemen, state chairmen and other officials of each such division. 6. That a commission of seven be appointed by the national chairman to go to Europe in the summer of 1913, to investigate social legislation with regard to both agricultural and industrial conditions (two for agriculture, two for labor, one economics professor, two general). 7. To announce a meeting of the national committee in New York, December 18 and 19 to consider any business coming before it.

⁴ See note 2.

⁵ The following persons were selected as members of this committee: Rev. Francis H. Gavis, Mrs. Caleb S. Denny, W. K. Stewart, Lucius B. Swift, Carl Mote, George W. Stout, W. A. Bastian, Robert L. Breakenburr, Carl G. Fisher, Oscar L. Pond, Edward R. Lewis, Dr. Amelia R. Keller, Thomas C. Howe and C. B. Coleman, of Indianapolis; Judge James B. Wilson, Dr. Amos A. Hershey and Dr. James A. Woodburn, of Bloomington; Judge William A. Bond and William D. Foulke, of Richmond; T. E. Moran and Dr. W. K. Hiatt, of Lafayette; Dr. C. C. North, of Greencastle; Charles F. Smith, of Evansville; Clifford Jackman, of Huntington; W. J. Snyder, of Brazil; Dr. W. A. Mills, of Hanover; Dr. Edward Rumley, of Laporte; John G. Brown, of Monon; E. C. Toner, of Anderson; Carl A. Wise, of Logansport; Charles A. Bash, of Fort Wayne, and David Waugh, of Tipton. This committee was to have charge of the preparation of bills embodying the planks of the Progressive state platform for introduction in the General Assembly.

olis were named with B. R. Inman of Middletown as a committee to organize clubs throughout the state. Members of these clubs were to pay dues of about twenty-five cents a month, ten cents of which would go into the state campaign fund.

The Progressives felt that their defeat in 1912 was largely due to the fact that they entered the campaign too late. Their organization was considered inadequate. But since they polled more votes than the Republicans for their state and presidential ticket there seemed to be sufficient cause for further effort. This led to the party's participation in the municipal elections of 1913. The leaders felt that it was imperative for their party to be represented in all political activities so that the rank and file of the voters would not become indifferent or deserters.⁶ Within a week of the election of 1912, therefore, there was some talk of city tickets where the new move made the strongest showing. At Anderson, Clayte Sells, Progressive chairman of the Eighth district, was prominently mentioned for mayor. At Richmond where the new party had carried all but three precincts the fight was to be continued.⁷

The Indianapolis mayoralty race was one of more than ordinary interest. Dr. William H. Johnson was the Progressive nominee. He had been a city councilman and was familiar with the problems of the capital. During his campaign he advocated "majority rule," and giving the "ordinary citizen representation at the city hall." In order to bring about such reforms civic centers would be established at the school houses in each ward where the people could meet to consider matters pertaining to their own wards and the general welfare." "I want to make the city government a family affair instead of a government by ring politicians," Johnson is quoted as saying.⁸ Certain other reforms urged by the Progressives included the nonassessment of city employees for campaign expenses, no more acceptance of corporation money for campaign funds, a reasonable return for taxes instead of paying out the money for salaries, in other words, driving the politi-

⁶ *Indianapolis News*, Nov. 9, 1912.

⁷ *Indianapolis News*, Nov. 9, 1912.

⁸ *Indianapolis Star*, Oct. 2, 1913.

cal chair warmers out. As a surety for carrying out these measures Johnson offered to forfeit one thousand dollars for charity and resign his office if he failed to carry out any of his campaign pledges.⁹

The Republican candidate was former Mayor Charles A. Bookwalter. He had been mayor from 1905 to 1909 and also from 1901 to 1903. In 1899 and 1903 he had been a candidate each time being defeated by the Democratic nominee. All that a mayor could do to make Indianapolis a "Progressive" city he promised to do if elected. His campaign opened with much "red fire" in a mass meeting at Tomlinson hall on the night of October 1. A platform urging economy, law enforcement, flood prevention, park development, boulevard building, better care of streets, better street lighting, efficient municipal boards, civil service for fire and police departments, an effort to increase the number of industries, the development of technical school for education along practical lines, track elevation, sewage disposal plant, construction of a convention hall, cross-town street car lines and protection of public health was adopted.¹⁰

The Democrats placed Joseph E. Bell in the race. His election was urged as an indorsement of the state and national Democratic administrations. The Prohibitionists, Socialists and Socialist Labor parties also nominated tickets; in addition to this Dr. Charles S. Woods was nominated to oppose the field on a citizen's ticket.

Shelbyville citizens held a mass meeting on October 1 at which they nominated a city ticket. Of the thirty-five delegates the Democrats, Republicans and Progressives had ten each while the Prohibitionists had five. Robert W. Harrison, a former mayor and a Democrat, was nominated to head the ticket. For clerk Lee Morgan, a Republican, was named. I. O. Mann and Martin Lemmon, both Progressives, received places for councilmen at large, while among the ward councilmen selected were two Republicans, two Progressives and one Democrat. The new party had already nominated a ticket including the names of Mann and Lemmon but this was withdrawn after the mass meeting had given them recognition.¹¹

⁹ Indianapolis *Star*, Oct. 8, 1913..

¹⁰ Indianapolis *Star*, Oct. 2, 1913.

¹¹ Indianapolis *Star*, Oct. 2, 1913.

A committee was appointed to name a fusionist candidate for mayor of Muncie. Three names were suggested including George W. Wilson a Progressive, W. T. Janney a Republican and Word Marshall a Democrat. Wilson was selected after the other men withdrew.¹² In the election however Wilson was defeated by Mr. Bunch the regular Democratic candidate. The regular Republican and Progressive nominees were Mr. Broderick and Mr. Kitselman.

Non-partisan or citizen tickets were placed in the field at Fort Wayne, Gary and Lafayette where they opposed the regular Democratic ticket. Progressives entered the fight with much zest at Elkhart, Goshen, Bloomington, Richmond and Terre Haute. At the latter city law and order was the main issue.

When the elections were held the Democrats won out in fifty of the larger cities. In twenty-two the Republicans obtained a majority or plurality, while Progressives were elected in five cases. Citizens tickets carried in twelve contests and at Mitchell a Labor party candidate was chosen. The Progressive victories occurred at Elkhart, Marion, North Vernon, Richmond and Seymour.¹³

The Indianapolis vote stood Bell 19,879, Bookwalter 14,332, Johnson 14,238, Lehnert (Socialist) 3,266, Burkhardt (Socialist Labor) 288, Stanley (Prohibitionist) 336, Woods 2,026. Bookwalter's margin over Johnson was only 94 and Bell's plurality 5,547. Mr. Bookwalter after learning of the result said: "I believe Indianapolis is still a Republican city and that Republican nominees will be successful when the people

¹² *Indianapolis Star*, Oct. 1, 1913.

¹³ Mayors elected in Indiana, *Indianapolis Star*, Nov. 6, 1913.

Democrats—Anderson, Angola, Auburn, Bedford, Bloomington, Bluffton, Boonville, Columbus, Connorsville, Covington, Crawfordsville, Crown Point, Decatur, Delphi, Elwood, Evansville, Franklin, Fort Wayne, Gas City, Greencastle, Greensburg, Greenfield, Goshen, Hammond, Hartford City, Huntington, Huntingburg, Jeffersonville, Kendallville, Kokomo, Lebanon, Linton, Logansport, Martinsville, Mt. Vernon, Muncie, Portland, Plymouth, Princeton, Shelbyville, Sullivan, Tell City, Terre Haute, Tipton, Union City, Veedersburg, Wabash, Washington, Indianapolis. Republicans—Attica, Batesville, Brazil, Cannelton, Columbia City, Frankfort, Laporte, Lawrenceburg, Ligonier, Loogootee, Madison, Monticello, New Albany, Noblesville, Rensselaer, Rising Sun, Rochester, Rushville, Vincennes, Winchester, Warsaw, Whiting. Citizens—Butler, Garrett, Gary, Jasonville, Lafayette, Michigan City, Mishawaka, Rockport, South Bend, Valparaiso, New Castle, Peru. Progressives—Elkhart, Marion, North Vernon, Richmond, Seymour. Peoples—Monteplier. Labor—Mitchell.

forget their nonsense." His defeat was due, perhaps, to the presence of the Progressive ticket in the contest but the latter might have explained his failure in the same way. It was simply another illustration of the fact that here in Indiana a divided opposition stood little chance of defeating a united Democracy.

Progressive leaders declared that no comfort was to be found in the assumption that the new party was losing ground. They maintained that even though the conditions of 1912 were missing, wherever a test of strength was made the Progressive party had shown a body of men fighting for principles and demanding that there should be one party representative of those principles. The municipal elections shorn of extraordinary feeling and rapidly shifting of balances, which marked the 1912 contest, showed the Progressives as still a potent group with at least some aligned in their ranks who stood for no compromise short of a complete acceptance of their faith.

Joseph B. Kealing endeavored to show that the Progressives had weakened while the Republicans gained. Taking the vote of thirty-three cities he pointed out that the Democrats lost 8,500 votes, the Progressives lost 11,000 while the Republicans gained 15,000. It required another election to definitely determine the future success of the new party.

Indiana Progressives held a rally at Indianapolis on November 25, 1913. Delegations were present from Anderson, Crawfordsville, Noblesville and Richmond. The program included a luncheon at noon in the Hume-Mansur building, a public meeting at one o'clock addressed by Raymond Robins of Chicago, a state conference at three o'clock for workers, to be held in the Claypool hotel, at five o'clock a public meeting in the Hume building with Mrs. Annette Funk of Chicago and Fred Landis speakers. In the evening there was a large meeting addressed by Senator Moses E. Clapp of Minnesota, Everett Colby of New Jersey, John J. McCutcheon of Chicago and Raymond Robins of Chicago.

Firm loyalty was the keynote of the gathering. Those present pledged themselves to stand by the ideals of 1912 and declared any compromise with the Republican party to be impossible. Though the immediate cause of the formation of

the new party was the dishonesty and fraud practiced by the Republican national convention, it was in reality the culmination of movements that had long been in progress. Various groups working independently along different lines for the general betterment saw in the new party the opportunity that had not been offered by either of the old political organizations. A large number of people, interested in one phase or another of social industrial or political reform, that received no encouragement from the old parties, or else had been espoused only to be betrayed, saw in the Progressive party a chance to promote their respective causes and came together under its banner. The movement crystallized under the "insurgents" in congress like Beveridge, Poindexter and Murdock. The new party offered all dissatisfied persons an opportunity and they welcomed it.

The new organization was now undergoing a test to see whether it could long endure. Those of the more earnest adherents contended that their platform stood for something. That unlike that of the Democratic party, it was a program. The principles they adopted were vital, they looked to a changing of the social, industrial and political order, they represented the needs of the people and because they did there was no disposition to abandon them and return to the Republican or Democratic fold. Some Progressives contended that there was even less prospect than ever before of accomplishing anything through those parties.

As with every new political movement deserters were expected. Certain men attached themselves to it for selfish reasons and with little or no interest in its principles. They either wished revenge on opponents or hoped for the rewards of success, the spoils of office, or personal prominence not before obtainable. Such men would soon drop out and in fact some had already done so.

Those who remained faithful claimed that they were not working for power because it would give them control of a few offices. They were rather working for principles because they believed that the interests of the people demanded the inauguration of those principles. If in the meantime Democrats or Republicans should take up and put in operation any of the Progressive reforms, members of the Progressive party

would rejoice over the spread of their beliefs. But they would not join the Republicans because they had ceased to be in touch with the people and had shown no signs of abandoning their allegiance to the interests. Neither would the true Progressives join the Democrats because they were mere office seekers, were apt to Bryanize the currency and had so far rendered mere lip service to genuine reform. Thus did the loyal Progressives feel about their position even in the face of almost certain defeat. They had "a cause to fight for" and their "heart was in the fight."¹⁴

The Tenth district Progressives were first to lead off with an organization rally following the state gathering. The national committee planned to encourage and promote a campaign in all the states for the election of Progressive congressmen and for county tickets in each county. At Lafayette, therefore, arrangements were made for the selection at an early date of precinct committeemen, county chairmen and for the beginning of activities in the general interests of the party. The delegates indorsed the new primary election law and called for elections under it.

Enthusiasm ran high when a few of the Progressive leaders gathered at Indianapolis for a conference, December 23. Mr. Beveridge, Mr. Toner and others received ovations as they renewed pledges of undying loyalty to the fight for the people. The former senator reiterated his advice made by letter to the Illinois Progressive conference on December 16. In substance he urged "No amalgamation, no combination, no relations of any kind with any other party whatsoever." E. C. Toner also maintained that it was the duty of the Progressive party to proceed alone without the aid of or fusion with any other party.¹⁵

The Progressives began to perfect their party organization early in the year 1914. On January 13 occurred the election

¹⁴ Indianapolis *Star*, Nov. 27, 1913.

¹⁵ Indianapolis *Star*, Dec. 24, 1913. "I see," said Mr. Toner, "that some of the Republicans in Marion county suggest a eugenic marriage of the Republican and Progressive parties. A few days ago Bud Coler, controller of the City of New York, said that if the present practice of eugenics were realized the race would be extinct within 150 years. I can say, however, that a marriage of the Republican and Progressive parties would in no wise conform to even eugenic principles, but if this might be in error and if such a marriage might occur, the result would be in no wise related to success at the polls for the next forty years."

of precinct committeemen who in turn chose county chairmen on January 17 and new district chairmen on January 20. For chairman of the state committee the names of John M. Johnson of Logansport and Edward C. Toner of Anderson were mentioned. Some urged Chairman E. M. Lee to continue to serve and he was finally chosen on February 14.

Reports from four district meetings throughout the state indicated the existence of a spirit of organization and much zeal. Every Progressive was urged to put himself in touch with his party leaders at once, attend meetings, inducing others to do the same, help form clubs, to arrange meetings in his own neighborhood or precinct. Women were also urged to help in the work even though they were not voters. All who desired the ballot and Progressive social reforms were asked to support the Progressive party as the only one that offered them what they wanted.¹⁶

A banquet was arranged by the management of the Progressive club for February 14 at the Hume-Mansur building in Indianapolis. Party leaders held a conference in the afternoon. John M. Parker of New Orleans was present to deliver an address. District chairmen present at the conference were: 1. E. S. Crumbaker, Evansville; 2. Dr. Renos Richard, Patricksburg; 4. Will H. Newsom, Elizabethtown; 5. Lewis B. McNutt, Brazil; 6. H. T. Roberts, Greenfield; 7. Harry Chamberlin, Indianapolis; 8. L. Ray Lenich, Union City; 9. William H. Dye, Noblesville; 10. G. R. Coffin, Monticello; 11. Neil W. McGrevey, Wabash; 12. Harry R. Brown, Waterloo.

It was announced that about all the counties would put out tickets in 1914 which would be much better than in 1912. Reports at the meeting carried the idea that many Republicans were not taking much consolation in their new state committee. The trouble being that new district chairmen elected on February 10 were aligned with the standpat element and that little could be hoped in the way of progressiveism from them. This dissatisfaction manifested itself in the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth districts.¹⁷ Chances of Progressive success were thus given an early boost.

¹⁶ Indianapolis *Star*, Feb. 10, 1914.

¹⁷ Indianapolis *Star*, Feb. 16, 1914.

E. C. Toner of Anderson, who had been chosen chairman of the state executive committee, proceeded at once to build up an efficient working of various units throughout the state.

The Democratic party again showed its partiality for an early nominating convention by setting the date for its state meeting on March 19. The party was filled with such enthusiasm and hope as come from supremacy. There was an abundance of candidates for all offices. Competition and disappointment were expected to cause animosities in some cases. The long campaign however would give opportunity to adjust these difficulties.

Governor Ralston was chosen as temporary chairman to deliver the keynote. He, himself, did not care for the honor, and favored a senator who would discuss national issues. The prevailing majority however declared that state issues would be paramount to everything else.

A feature of the convention was the adoption of a platform containing a recommendation for a primary election law in Indiana. Senator Kern forced the issue by announcing the desire of President Wilson and Mr. Bryan for such a plank. Many of the party followers declared that the President was bent upon progressivizing the Democratic party in Indiana. At any rate he was able to obtain a favorable consideration of this reform.¹⁸

The ticket nominated by the convention was headed by Benjamin F. Shively of South Bend for reelection as United States senator. Homer L. Cook of Indianapolis was named for secretary of state; Dale J. Crittenberger, Anderson for auditor; George A. Bittler, Fort Wayne, for treasurer; Richard M. Milburn, Jasper, for attorney general; J. Fred France, Huntington, for clerk of supreme and appellate courts; Charles A. Greathouse, Indianapolis, for state superintendent of public instruction; Moses B. Lairy, Logansport, for judge of the supreme court for the Fifth district; judges of appellate court First district, Milton B. Hottel, Salem, and Edward W. Felt, Greenfield; judges of supreme court Second district, Frank M. Powers, Angola, Joseph G. Ibach, Hammond, and Fred S. Caldwell, Winchester.¹⁹

¹⁸ Indianapolis *News*, March 19, 1914.

¹⁹ Indianapolis *News*, March 20, 1914.

The Progressives at first planned to hold their state nominating convention on May 1. Objection was made to this date on account of busy season in the rural districts. The date was therefore changed to April 16 one week before the Republican meeting, but because Tomlinson hall was not available for that date another and final change was made to April 18 and 19. There were 1669 delegates elected on April 10, on the basis of one for each hundred votes for Beveridge in 1912. These met at the statehouse by districts to select members for the credentials, resolutions, rules and order committees.

The convention was looked forward to with more than ordinary interest because it represented the more settled and determined thought and intentions of the new party, to a degree not possible in the excitement and enthusiasm of its formation. Its members had had almost two years in which to reflect on the movement, to compare its principles with the promises and acts of the old organizations, and to measure the importance of their undertaking. Their zeal was unbroken. Their convention was firm. There was much work to be done. They had rejected all overtures to return to their former allegiance. The "grand old party" had shown no signs meet for repentance. The Democrats had paid them a tribute by adopting, though reluctantly, some of their reform ideas, e. g., the direct primary plank.²⁰

Due to the presence of senators Moses E. Clapp, of Minnesota, Miles Poindexter of Washington, Charles Sumner Bird of Massachusetts in addition to Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Landis of Indiana, the Progressive message was delivered with all the graces of oratory and depth of conviction.

Mr. Bird warned his hearers against amalgamation, if the Progressives wished to be faithful to themselves or to have their influence felt and to see the ideals of their platform put into operation.

It would mean compromise, and any wing of the Progressive party that compromises deserves nothing but the fate in store for it—death. If they amalgamate they are lost. They must keep on fighting not so much for offices as for good government and they attain enough com-

²⁰ Indianapolis *Star*, April 17, 1914.

pensation when they force the adoption of the things they are fighting for.²¹

The Minnesota senator declared that the Progressive party was never so strong as at that time.

No man can be elected in 1916 unless he can make the people believe that he is in sympathy with what are known as the "Roosevelt policies." All through this land there are thousands and millions of men in the twilight zone of doubt and uncertainty, thoroughly disgusted with the old political machine. The Republican party probably would have passed into history had it not been for the temporary revival under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt.²²

In their platform the Progressives reaffirmed the basic principles of the 1912 document. It declared for woman suffrage, minimum wage, workmen's compensation, public utilities, regulation by commission, and free school books. The foreign policy of Wilson's administration was condemned especially so far as it related to Mexico, Panama Canal tolls, and the Columbian claim. Prohibition was a knotty question as in 1912. From the northern part of the state there came a more insistent demand for it than from the southern part. Delegates from the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh districts were particularly active in favor of the Prohibition plank. The 1912 plank was favored by delegates from the southern part and a large number of those from the Sixth district. It seemed inconsistent to most of the delegates to favor woman suffrage and not prohibition.²³

The demand for Albert J. Beveridge as senatorial candidate was so great as to almost force him to accept the nomination. When Fred Landis placed his name before the convention an enthusiastic demonstration followed. The former senator then accepted the honor by merely saying "alright".²⁴

William A. Pierson received the nomination for secretary of state; George W. Lott for auditor; John Bower for treasurer; Arthur G. Manning for attorney general; Edward R. Lewis for clerk of the supreme court; John W. Kendall for superintendent of public instruction; Jethro C. Culmer for

²¹ Indianapolis *Star*, April 18, 1914.

²² Indianapolis *Star*, April 18, 1914.

²³ Indianapolis *Star*, April, 19, 1914.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

state geologist; Lou W. Vail for judge of the supreme court, Fifth district; Henry P. Pearson and Elias D. Salsbury for judges of the appellate court, First district; George H. Koons, Willis E. Roe and Homer C. Underwood for judges of the appellate court, Second district. Edward C. Toner was made state chairman while Edwin M. Lee and Alva L. Kitselman were selected to serve as the two state committeemen at large.²⁵

The Republican state convention met on April 22 and 23 at Indianapolis. Delegates and visitors attending lacked the old air of confidence which usually permeated conventions of the party in former years. Instead they showed signs of a disposition to put themselves in line with what they regarded as the safest of the newer political ideas. Some attention was being given by them to woman suffrage, state-wide primaries and a minimum wage law for women. Progressives watched the proceedings with interest. They wished to consider their Republican friends as good citizens and good fellows but only misguided.

Hugh Th. Miller received the senatorial nomination. Edward Jackson was named for secretary of state, Harry R. Campbell for state geologist, I. Newt Brown for auditor, Job Freeman for treasurer, Ele Stansbury for attorney general, Horace Ellis for state superintendent, Will H. Adams for clerk of the supreme and appellate courts, Quincy A. Myers for judge of the supreme court, Fifth district, Ira C. Batman and Lucius C. Embree for judges of the appellate court, First district; Marcellus A. Chipman, Shepard J. Crumpacker and Ulysses A. Lesh for judges of the appellate court, Second district.²⁶

Progressive workers declared the prospects of success for their cause were much more auspicious than they were in 1912 when they outran the Republicans. When members of the latter party tried to show that because of losses sustained in standpat eastern congressional districts the new party was fading away the Progressives urged that nothing in Indiana showed such indications. The half-hearted stand of the Republicans for woman suffrage, for a constitutional conven-

²⁵ *Indianapolis Star*, April 19, 1914.

²⁶ *Indianapolis News*, April 24, 1914.

tion, for the formation of a new constitution, and for Prohibition, would not deceive the people. Again the Democratic refusal to stand for the constitutional convention and woman suffrage set forth the position of that party clearly.

The Progressives therefore felt that they had the best platform and ticket. All parties were planning to get an early start. The new party was not going to be asleep, but hastened to lay its campaign lines in all counties. By means of a series of district conferences they planned a more complete organization. Mr. Beveridge and Mr. Toner were both active in promoting these conferences and attended as many as they could. With a thorough organization the Progressives had hopes of successfully competing against the Democrats and Republicans, especially in those districts where either of their opponents were divided or in poor standing with the people.²⁷

Owing to the fact that this was not a presidential election year the chief interest centered around the congressional and senatorial contests. The Progressives claimed exceptional strength in the Second, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Tenth, Eleventh, and Thirteenth districts.

The First district developed a hot race between S. Wallace Cook, the Republican nominee, Ulrich H. Seiler the Progressive candidate and Representative Charles W. Lieb who had been renominated by the Democrats. This district was not considered a Progressive stronghold. The basis of hope was due to a Lieb and anti-Lieb faction among the Democrats. The trouble arose from some post-office appointments which displeased a few party followers.

Representative William A. Cullop, a Democrat, was opposed in the second district by Oscar E. Bland, Republican, and James B. Wilson, Progressive. Here the Democrats were again divided into a Cullop and an anti-Cullop faction. Some leading party workers who were ambitious for official honors thought Cullop had represented the district long enough and that it would be best for him to step down in favor of some other candidate.

The Third and Fourth districts were both conceded to the Democrats almost without a struggle. Representative Wil-

²⁷ Indianapolis *Star*, April 26, 1914.

liam E. Cox and Lincoln Dixon respectively had such following that it was a hopeless task to oppose them.

Both Progressives and Republicans had hope in the Fifth district. Representative Moss, the Democratic candidate, had as his opponents R. L. Shattuck, Republican, and Otis E. Gulley, Progressive of Danville. The result largely depended upon the vote of Vigo county. Here there were many charges marked up against the two old parties, especially the Democratic, on account of election frauds. If Mr. Moss could claim a normal vote there he might be elected. Road roller tactics used in the party's district convention caused several of its members to become disgusted with it. Progressives felt that the miners approved the new party's stand on the tariff in preference to that of the Democrats. The Democratic tariff was also blamed for lack of employment at the mines. A convention of the workers had denounced it. Mr. Moss' opposition to woman suffrage was also expected to go hard with him.

The Progressives of the Sixth district held their convention at Cambridge City, January 20, as directed by R. G. Leeds, the district chairman. Prof. Elbert Russell of Earlham college was nominated for congress. Patrick J. Lynch of New Castle was the Republican candidate though many of the party workers expected D. W. Comstock of Richmond to get the honor. Some of the leaders were offended therefore because James E. Watson backed Mr. Lynch. It was the same old contest between Rush and Wayne counties. Knightstown and Shelbyville papers opposed Lynch.²⁸ Mr. Russell was a good speaker and it was thought that he would make a splendid showing against Representative Finley Gray and Lynch.

The Seventh district presented an interesting contest between Representative Charles Korbly, Democrat; Merrill Moores, Republican and Paxton Hibben, Progressive. The Republicans had chosen J. W. Fesler as their district chairman. While Frank A. Doudican, a young Indianapolis attorney, managed the Progressive party. The Republicans early in February formed a "get together committee" with

²⁸ Indianapolis *Star*, June 17, 1914.

the idea of bringing back to their organization those who had gone astray two years before.²⁹ John C. Rucklehaus advocated so progressive and radical a platform that the most ardent Bull Mooser could support it also the rotation of candidates in office until one-half were Republican and the others Progressive. Clarence R. Martin of Lawrence, who was chosen for Marion county chairman, scouted the idea of "getting together" and rather planned more vigorous work than ever. He declared that the Republicans offered no home to return to. The action of the Marion county organization was important to the welfare of the Progressive party in the state.

We are the keystone of a state, which has been for years the central point of contest in American politics. The eyes of the Progressives all over the country are on us and we must by our acts and our showing this fall demonstrate to them the strength of the party in the hottest fighting ground in the nation. When we founded this party in 1912 we entered upon a new and enlightened era in politics to prove that this is a government for the people, by the people and not for the bosses, by the bosses. The Progressives conducted two honest campaigns and showed that it could be done.³⁰

Mr. Hibben, Progressive nominee at the head of the district ticket, was a writer and diplomat as well as a politician. He pledged faithful service and to act always in the interests of the public. He argued for the protective tariff because every nation in the world had one except England and she could not produce her own supplies. His speech of acceptance of the congressional nomination together with a concise outline of Progressive principles made up a political campaign pamphlet which he distributed throughout the district.

Progressives looked upon the Eighth district as a stronghold of their party. Harry L. Kitselman of Muncie was nominated for congress over Oswald Ryan of Anderson. John A. M. Adair of Portland was renominated by the Democrats and Albert H. Vestal by the Republicans. New party men expected gains from the Democratic ranks in Adams county where the growers of sugar beets were dissatisfied with the effect of the Democratic tariff on their industry.³¹

²⁹ Indianapolis *News*, Feb. 7 and 8, 1914.

³⁰ Indianapolis *Star*, March 16, 1914.

³¹ Indianapolis *Star*, Aug. 8, 1914.

In the Ninth district the Progressives felt that they had a fighting chance. Charles A. Ford, a Kokomo manufacturer, was nominated as their congressional candidate at Lebanon, April 8. W. A. Moon of Crawfordsville was the only other candidate presented to the convention but he withdrew. The platform adopted favored the passage of a joint resolution then before congress providing for a constitutional amendment prohibiting traffic in intoxicating liquors, also advocated a state law prohibiting the shipment of liquor into dry territory. Until the adoption of a nation wide prohibition law they favored the adoption of state-wide prohibition by an amendment to the state constitution. They opposed amalgamation of any sort and reaffirmed faith in the principles set forth in the 1912 platform.

The Tenth district, normally Republican by a good margin, had been lost to the Democrats in the 1912 struggle. Will R. Wood was nominated by the Republicans for congress, and Will H. Ade by the Progressives. Representative J. B. Peterson was renominated by the Democrats. Mr. Wood had been a state senator for a continuous term of sixteen years. In this office his career had been very active, having made more speeches and introduced more bills than any other man in the General Assembly.³² Will H. Ade, the Progressive nominee, was a farmer and banker. They felt that he would make a strong appeal among the farmers. The importation of Argentine corn into this country displeased them very much.

B. B. Shively of Marion had a lively race as the Progressive nominee for Congress from the Eleventh district. His opponents were Representative George W. Rauch, Democrat, and S. L. Strickler, Republican. Mr. Rauch had lost some support, notably in Grant county, through making too large a number of postoffice appointments, at least this served as argument against him there. Shively as a former Democrat was expected to draw largely from his former party. In a meeting at East Chicago on the night of August 4 he told why he was a Progressive. The new party represented the Jeffersonian ideals of the Democratic party and

³² Indianapolis *Star*, March 5, 1914.

coupled to these, new ideals which embodied the best thought along the lines of economic and political welfare.

Representative Cyrus Cline, Democrat, was renominated for congress in the Twelfth district. The Progressive opposition was not enough to materially affect the result. Their nominee, Jacob G. Wise, was unable to command a thousand votes, and received the smallest poll of any Progressive congressional candidate.

Harry A. Barnhart was renominated by the Democrats in the Thirteenth district. He had a strong following, and there were some indications of a fusion ticket in order to defeat him. Charles A. Carlisle of South Bend expressed a desire to run for both Republicans and Progressives. This, however, was not done.³⁴

For the first time, Indiana voters would vote directly for United States senator under the seventeenth amendment. Former Senator Albert J. Beveridge, as the Progressive candidate, made a strenuous campaign. His first important address was at Terre Haute, September 14. Here he emphasized the superiority of the Progressive party's business program. His candidacy was given wide publicity in some of the leading magazines. *Colliers Weekly* credited him as being the strongest candidate in the Indiana race.³⁵ Neither of the opposition candidates, Hugh Th. Miller, Republican, nor Senator B. F. Shively, Democrat, was an active campaigner, like Mr. Beveridge. Now that the people could vote directly they were expected to reflect the popularity of their former spokesman. During the fourth week of his campaign the Progressive nominee was scheduled to visit four districts. His was the most thorough campaign of the highways and byways ever attempted by any former contestant for senatorial honors in Indiana.³⁶

The variety of subjects discussed and audiences addressed, is shown by the fact that on October 4, in the midst of his campaign, he kept an appointment to speak in Evansville to the business men on "Success and How to Achieve It." In the evening of the same day he gave another address on "The

³⁴ Indianapolis *Star*, Aug. 5, 1914.

³⁵ *Colliers*, Sept. 1914, 4

³⁶ Indianapolis *Star*, Oct. 5, 1914.

Bible as Literature," at the Simpson M. E. church in that city. Some idea of the number of speeches made by Mr. Beveridge may be gained from a glance at his schedule for the week of October 12. Speeches were to be made at Pendleton, Anderson, Alexandria, Elwood, Hobbs, Windfall, Rigdon, Fairmount, Converse, Marion, Soldiers Home, Gas City, Upland, Hartford City, Warren, Huntington, Andrews, Wabash, North Manchester, South Whitley, Columbia City, Pierceton, Warsaw, Milford, Syracuse, Cromwell, Albion, Ligonier, Decatur, Bluffton, and Fort Wayne. Besides these there was always the possibility of his being waylaid at most any village because of a demand for a short talk to the populace.

Shively's record was assailed, Mr. Beveridge accusing him of leading in no important legislation and of voting as the caucus told him to vote. As a narrow partisan and spoilsman he was represented as wanting to get back to Washington by default.

At Indianapolis on October 23, the former senator attacked Senator Borah who was touring the state in the interests of the Republicans. Borah had accused Mr. Beveridge of saying in one of his addresses, that the Progressive was a "white man's party." This assertion the latter declared was not true and violated the corrupt practices act. His campaign was closed in Marion county on October 31.

Mr. Shively remained in Washington until very late in the campaign. On October 24 he began a brief campaign at Shelbyville. He made speeches in only a few of the larger cities and chiefly in the northern part of the state. At the same time Vice-President Marshall and Governor Ralston made some addresses in behalf of the national administration. Mr. Shively urged the indorsement and reinstatement of the Democratic administration in order that it might complete the reforms that had been started.

The Republicans closed their campaign in Indianapolis on October 30 with United States Senator William Alden Smith as the speaker. The Progressives were invited to return. The immediate cause of their defection was now two

years removed so that they might be expected to gradually come back.

A "flying squadron" of former Democrats was organized to stump the state for the Progressives. Among its members were William A. Pierson of New Albany candidate for secretary of state, Clarence Weidler of South Bend, Democratic representative in the 1913 General Assembly, Earl Crawford of Milton, John W. Kitch of South Bend, Oswald Ryan of Anderson, and B. B. Shively of Marion.

In and around Indianapolis the Progressives had several good speakers, some having had experience in the 1912 contest. Among these were William D. Headrick, Willitts A. Bastian, Paxton Hibben, William G. White, John H. Kingsbury, J. V. Zartman and Thomas A. Daily. Outside of Marion county prominent exponents of progressiveism were Frederick Landis, John T. Hume, Edward R. Lewis, Clifford F. Jackman, Roscoe G. Fertich and the Rev. J. Van Nice Bandy of Fowler. On September 26 Mr. Roosevelt dropped into Indianapolis for an address. He endeavored to assist all candidates by urging voters to continue the forward movement in the state.

In November, 1912, St. Joseph county Progressives planned a party newspaper organ at Mishawaka. The movement for a new constitution called for the establishment in 1914 of a monthly magazine, *The Citizen*, ten numbers of which were published. Contributing editors included Mr. Beveridge, Dr. Paul L. Haworth, Dr. Amelia R. Keller, W. D. Foulke, Lucius B. Swift, W. K. Stewart, George L. Dewey and others.

On April 17 the Progressive Press association of the state held a meeting at the party club rooms in Indianapolis, R. B. Inman, president, said his list showed about one hundred Progressive newspapers in the state. The list included besides weeklies the following dailies:

The Indianapolis *Star*, 'Anderson *Herald*, Madison *Democrat*, Muncie *Star*, Bloomington *Journal*, Goshen *News-Times*, Terre Haute *Star*, Richmond *Palladium*, Lafayette *Courier*, Connersville *News*, Brazil *Times*, Vincennes *Capitol*, Bedford *Progressive* and the Mitchell *Tribune*. Later others were added to the list. The Elkhart *Review* for a long time Re-

publican turned Progressive. The Princeton *Independent*, New Castle *Progressive Herald*, and the Liberty *Herald* were also counted as back of the new party. Besides these there were other favorable publications at Macy, Kokomo and Huntington. With these publications to supplement the well directed stump campaign, the Progressive cause was presented to the people in no uncertain terms. Although the new party could entertain no assurance of victory it was determined to make a good showing at the polls. Just how well it succeeded in this is at once evident from its future history.

The press and politicians talked fusion throughout the year. The Progressives, however, declared that any party good enough to fuse with was good enough to vote with. This seemed to be the real situation, for, having returned in 1914, many former Progressives remained loyal at the polls to their old party which they had forsaken two years before.

In Bango township, Elkhart county, the Republicans and Progressives merged in the election of a township ticket. They adopted the name of "citizens" and chose clasped hands as an emblem.³⁷ Progressives accused the Republicans in Putnam and other counties of deliberately nominating some men from their party on the Republican ticket in order to make it appear that they were coming back. Only the vote could determine the real extent of repentance among the new party men.

Senator Shively was re-elected by a plurality of 45,483 over Mr. Miller. The vote for Mr. Beveridge was 108,581, or less than half of that for the Republican nominee. Evidently many who supported him in 1912, were now voting another ticket. Two of the congressional seats were reclaimed by the Republicans. These were the Seventh and Tenth. In neither of the districts did the Progressive nominees win second place. Their vote was considerably less than the party received in 1912. In only two districts, the Sixth and Eighth, did the Progressive vote amount to as much as half of the Republican figures. The poorest showing made

³⁷ Indianapolis *Star*, Aug. 2, 1914.

by them was in the Twelfth congressional race, where the candidate, Jacob G. Wise, received only 789 votes.³⁸

The Democrats still controlled both branches of the General Assembly, but with a greatly reduced majority in the house of representatives. The proposal to have a constitutional convention was voted down by 103,807 and that for a centennial memorial building met a similar fate by 368,982. Successful nominees asserted that the result showed an approach to more independent voting and the fading of party lines. While this was no doubt a cause yet there is an indication of a conservative reaction. This is perhaps more evident in other states where questions like woman suffrage and prohibition were up for more or less definite solution. The people were trying to play safe and be conservative. In North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Nevada woman suffrage was defeated, not on merit perhaps, but yet defeated.

Immediately after the returns were in, November 5, the Progressive state committee in a meeting at the Hotel English adopted a resolution stating the party's plans for the immediate future:

The Progressive party was organized by sincere men and women who wanted to make this country better and our people happier. That movement must and will go forward. We are right on every fundamental question. Temporary defeat nerves us to greater efforts. We pledge the thousands of voters who have stood with us that we will continue the fight until victory is won. Tuesday's election returned to power the most extreme reactionaries in the country. Men whose names only yesterday were synonymous for all that is bad in American politics are more strongly enthroned than ever before. Two years ago there was a swing to impracticable and incompetent Democracy; today there is a swing to the most backward looking Republicanism; tomorrow the swing will be to us. We begin right now for the battle of 1916.

Signed Willitts A. Bastian, Howard T. Roberts, Harry T. Kitselman Dr. R. H. Richards and Rudolph G. Leeds.³⁹

All the parties looked forward to a real test in 1916. The Republicans were inspired by their recent gains to do all in their power to regain control. Their headquarters were

³⁸ *Report of Secretary of State*, 1914, pp. 170-173.

³⁹ *Indianapolis Star*, Nov. 6, 1914.

to remain open and publicity plans would be kept up along with their optimism. Indiana was due for plenty of politics for the next two years.

The same Republican ticket was expected to be in the field again. James P. Goodrich was mentioned as the candidate for governor. As national committeeman he was looked upon as a man trying to bring about party harmony. At a meeting of the state committee on November 14 it was decided to have a "get together" love feast during the Christmas holiday season. The committee resolved to give each Republican an equal voice in the management of the party.⁴⁰

About two hundred Progressives gathered at the party club rooms in the Hume-Mansur building on November 15 when they determined to continue the fight for progressive principles. Those present were asked to sign cards pledging aid in keeping up the movement through the campaign of 1916. Some leading members of the party in 1912 had already deserted it. Their attitude seemed to be that they regarded continuance in the new party as an ineffectual effort to accomplish anything in practical politics.

Chief among the early deserters were Taylor Groninger of Indianapolis and Horace Stilwell of Anderson. According to the latter a new progressive lineup had occurred within the Republican party and it had become the real progressive party in America. Former differences within the Republican party were differences of means rather than of ends. The Progressive party could no longer be used as an instrument to accomplish progressive results. He felt that it would be wiser to abandon the Progressive party as a party and to preserve the movement as a movement.⁴¹

⁴⁰ *Indianapolis Star*, Nov. 15, 1914. "Recognizing that party management and control should at all times be responsive to and representative of the sentiment and will of the party and believing that an indifferent attitude toward this principle has been responsible for party dissensions in the past, we pledge ourselves to such reforms in the methods of party organization, management and control, that in the future the rights of the individual participation on the part of members within the party shall be sacred and inviolate and we further pledge ourselves that party programs, party platforms and party candidates shall be expressive only of the majority sentiment within the party, free from the dictation or duress of the party management." It was agreed that the Progressives should be asked to come back.

⁴¹ *Indianapolis Star*, Nov. 28, 1914. Stilwell letter: "I believe the Progressive party has become through natural processes of disintegration merely a place to pigeonhole purely academic opinions without any real vitality as a

The Progressive national committee, meeting at Chicago December 1 and 2, decided to continue for another year when a final decision as to its future would be reached. A Johnson boom for President was started by R. G. Leeds, the Indiana member.

"Progressive principles are permanent and it is now more than ever evident that the Progressive party today is the necessary organ for their realization."

A new kind of aggressiveness would prevail, different from that of 1912. There would be no hopeful, catchy phrases, no grandiloquence about "enlisting for the war," no bitterness, but quiet mature deliberation. The party was to sit tight, hold its national strength, organization, say nothing and saw wood, until the next arrangement of forces gave it its new opportunity to serve the principles to which it was dedicated. The Republicans could not think that "the cruel

positive political party, contributing only negative results, not positive progressive victories, protecting Democracy from punishment that is its due, professing faith in majority government but at the same time making minority government secure. I favor a two-party system where majority rules. Blocking the channel does not appeal to me. I am not leaving the Progressives but joining them. More than 300,000 affiliated with the Republicans on November 3 and hordes have joined since then. This is more than three times as many as remained with the Progressives. The new battle line—a tribute to American citizenship, which forced to solve pressing present economical problems by disciplining an incompetent Democracy—moved the entire Progressive army, with the exception of a few panting stragglers to the new position within the Republican party, where they can continue their progressive fight without interruption and at the same time administer to Democracy the punishment that it deserves. The first skirmish will be upon methods of party procedure and management. The party organization be a mere referee of contests within the party. We have had the progressive movement a long time before the Progressive party and we shall have it a long time afterward. While they obsequiously the while lament the untimely death of the virtuous party, the courage and energy continues undaunted upon its way. Pouters fail to grasp the meaning of the sweeping vote of November 3. The Progressives themselves have decided that their future activities shall continue within the Republican party; that the Progressive party is not necessary for Progressive success, and should be abandoned as a real interference and stumbling block in the way of the movement. That the movement will sweep along without the party and without the individuals that cling to the shell of the party name: that their misdirected sincerity will not save these excellent gentlemen from being politically pigeonholed and effectually anchored in the dead eddy of a dormant party while the movement sweeps past them upon the irresistible tide of victory. They cannot keep up the fight pouting behind the abandoned breastworks of last year's battle fields. The fight will not be abandoned because the party movement failed. Ultimately it is my sincere hope that all real Progressives will feel the touch of each other's shoulders at the front upon the new line of battle within the Republican party."

war was over," 1,750,000 votes was a force to be reckoned with.

The party was to be a growing concern, with a determination to hold its place in the sun which it won by its own hard work. The national committee planned to meet again in December, 1915, when it would make plans for the 1916 convention and campaign. Convinced that the Republican party did not offer a fertile ground for their principles, some talked of indorsing Wilson, if a reactionary was nominated by it for President.⁴²

No one could be sure as to the outcome of the whole matter. In Indiana, as elsewhere, very much would depend upon the result of a conflict already staged between the old leadership of the Republican and the new. The new leaders seemed to be trying to keep its promises of a new deal in not only methods but men. If such a program were really undertaken it would be entitled to sympathy and aid, at any rate Progressives had already returned and were returning to their former alignment. Many no doubt reasoned like Stillwell and pictured themselves as members of a party which could never hope to do any positive piece of work. The outbreak of a world-wide war in Europe also tended to smother political divisions in this country so that with the handicap of the 1914 slump the Progressives could scarcely hope to survive.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1916 AND THE END OF THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Elections throughout the country in 1915 showed a further weakening of the Progressive party. This fact had its effect upon Indiana devotees of that faith who up until that time had refused to amalgamate with the Republicans. In November of that year elections occurred in eight states east of the Mississippi river. New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts were to have the equal suffrage issue up in addition to their other contests. In Massachusetts and Maryland, governors were to be elected, and in Ohio the question of state-wide prohibition was up for settlement. The Progress-

⁴² Indianapolis *Star*, Dec. 2, 1914.

sives polled 12,000 more votes than the Republicans in 1912 in Kentucky and the old party men were counting on swamping them this year. Other states having elections were Mississippi and New Jersey.¹

In the election the Republicans gained considerable strength electing a governor in Massachusetts and increasing their legislative majority in New Jersey. McCall's election in Massachusetts was due to the returned Progressive vote. The latter party polled less than three per cent of the total count or not enough to make it a legal party any longer. In Maryland the Progressive party disappeared altogether. In Kentucky where it had a ticket its showing was small, though if its votes had been given to the Republican candidate for governor he might have been elected. Woman suffrage failed to carry in each case. Ohio voted wet, Cleveland and Cincinnati giving Republican pluralities. In New York the new constitution question received a negative vote.

With a considerable number of the Progressives returned to their former allegiance in 1916, a hard fight was expected between the two major parties. Especially true would this be in the northern states carried by Mr. Wilson on account of the Roosevelt candidacy. With one or two exceptions these states had since gone Republican in state or congressional elections. Such states as New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Massachusetts, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan which went Democratic in the last presidential campaign were claimed now by Republican leaders. The principal exceptions were Indiana, Maine and California. According to national chairman Hilles all New England would go like Massachusetts. When it was understood that Governor Johnson would attend the next Republican convention this left little doubt about California. Indiana then stood alone as a doubtful state and would be the center of a desperate struggle. The two old parties would fight it out on comparatively equal terms in the Hoosier state. If there was any more reason for encouragement for the Republicans most persons would admit that it was largely due to the nomination of men not reactionaries and favorable to the Progressives. The party had a

¹ Indianapolis News, Nov. 1, 1915.

good start but only a good start. The only way for it to do was to meet the reasonable desires of those showing a disposition to return to it. In local elections throughout the state the Republicans made a fine showing. They made a concerted effort with a great result. Although in many cases the contests were non-partisan or citizen affairs, yet it is doubtful if ever so much party spirit had been displayed in the state within recent years. Conspicuous examples of this were to be found at Corydon and West Terre Haute, normally Democratic centers, but where the Republicans won after hard fought contests.² In 1916 they wanted a heavy plurality.

The year 1916 was another presidential year. In Indiana a governor would be elected as well as one United States senator. These contests insured a lively campaign in the Hoosier commonwealth. Democratic candidates for the governorship were John A. M. Adair of Portland, Fred F. Bayes of Sullivan, J. W. Harrison of Attica, John W. Boehne of Evansville, J. Kirby Risk of Kokomo, and Leonard B. Clore of Laporte county. Republicans desiring to lead their party's ticket were James P. Goodrich of Winchester, Quincy A. Myers of Logansport and Warren T. McCray of Kentland. The Progressives were at a loss to know whom they should indorse for the race. Former governor J. Frank Hanley let it be known that he would make the race, as a Progressive, with the understanding that the party declared for prohibition and did not demand the application of the initiative, referendum or recall. His name had been filed as a candidate for governor by the Progressive state committee, because names of candidates for state offices had to be filed with the secretary of state on or before January 7 and all others had declined to allow their names to be used.³ The senatorial race attracted attention from the very beginning. John W. Kern was the Democratic candidate for re-election. Harry S. New, James E. Watson, and Arthur R. Robinson were out for the Republican nomination. Judge James B. Wilson of Bloomington and William D. Foulke of Richmond were prominently mentioned as Progressive aspirants. Mr. Foulke, however, withdrew because he

² Indianapolis *News*, Nov. 6, 1915.

³ This was in accordance with the new primary election law passed by the 1915 General Assembly of Indiana.

could not agree to eliminate from the Progressive state platform the declaration for the initiative, referendum and recall, upon which J. Frank Hanly made conditional his acceptance of the nomination for governor on the Progressive ticket.⁴ This left Judge Wilson's name to appear on the ticket for the senatorial nomination.

Indiana led the way of primary states this year under her new primary election law. Republican, Democratic and Progressive parties all nominated candidates for governor, United States senator, representatives in congress and county officials, all voting at the same time and place in each precinct. The Republicans held out the glad hand to the Progressives, inviting the latter to join them in the nomination of their candidates. The supreme court had ruled, January 5, that the law would not prevent such participation, and that a party could decide for itself as to the voter's good faith in each case.⁵ The question arose in connection with a proposed fusion of Republicans and Progressives in some of the northern counties. E. D. Salsbury, vice-chairman of the Progressives, said the criminal section of the law made such fusion impossible, since section 28 provided a fine for voting another ticket than that for which a man voted for a majority of its candidates at the last general election. The court's ruling, however, removed this difficulty, and the Republicans made a spirited effort to get out a heavy vote so that the Progressives would be shown up.⁶

A dominant feature of the vote on March 7 was the strong Republican showing. The total number of votes cast was about sixty per cent of normal. Republican contests for both governor and senator tended to account for the interest shown

⁴ Foulke's telegram to Chairman Lee Jan. 1, in *Indianapolis Star*, Jan. 2, 1916. "As I believe these measures (initiative, referendum and recall) are necessary to insure the rule of the people against the politician and that they represent one of the most vital principles of the Progressive party. I am utterly unwilling to recant or to have my name on the ticket if they are purposely eliminated."

⁵ *Indianapolis News*, Jan. 6, 1916.

⁶ *Indianapolis Star*, March 4, 1916. Resolutions adopted at Republican state committee meeting, March 3. "It is our earnest desire that all Republicans and former Progressives who are now with us, participate in this primary. This is of the very greatest importance in order that our nominees may unquestionably be the real choice of the party membership. All who will affiliate with us this fall join now in selection of candidates."

while a storm in the afternoon tended to keep voters away from the polls. Mr. Goodrich won out over McCray for governor, while New received the senatorial nomination over Watson. The latter at first intended for a time to appeal to the state convention for a reconsideration of the vote. He contended that by eliminating Marion county from the count he had received a plurality in the state of about seven thousand over Mr. New, thus carrying the substantial and reliable Republican counties of the state. The actual returns from all counties, however, showed that Mr. New had a plurality of some 8,000, having received a majority in the populous counties.⁷ Judge Wilson received the Progressive nomination for senator, while Mr. Hanly received the vote of that party for governor. Although their vote was light, about 10,000 in all, Chairman Lee argued that it showed a party strength of some 100,000 in the state. His explanation of a heavier Republican and Democratic vote was because of contests and expenditure of money by the former, while the latter had control of the offices. That this explanation was not sufficient is evident from the fact that several leaders of the new party soon deserted it as offering no hope of victory at the polls in November.

Oswald Ryan of Anderson left the Progressives early in January, having as his excuse the assumption of power by members of the state committee to determine candidacies and platforms. "The Progressive party," said he, "was born of an unlawful assumption of power by a party committee. The successful execution of Mr. Lee's plan in this state can only insure that the party shall meet its death in the same issue in which it got its birth." The incident calls attention again to the real issue in democratic government as it is at present organized in the United States, and this is the question of the Democratic control of the great political agencies which constitute the actual government of America, the political parties. Unless the party is so organized as to make easy its control by its own citizenship there is little hope of popular control of a government which of necessity is governed by political parties. This is exactly the point which Horace C. Stilwell has been

⁷ *Indianapolis Star*, March 11, 1916.

pressing upon the attention of the Republicans of the nation. Mr. Stilwell has taken the position that the real significance of the 1912 split in the Republican party lay in the determination of the citizenship of the party to nominate the party's candidates and write its platforms, and that any constructive policy for party permanency must rest upon an equitable plan of party government. The protest of 1912 would do no good unless it developed a new type of democratic party government.⁸

In Wayne county the Progressives decided to nominate a county ticket after State Chairman Lee explained that the party need not comply with Hanly's demands. The initiative, referendum and recall could be incorporated in the state platform and if Mr. Hanly withdrew another candidate would be nominated. "I would hate to go to the Progressive national committee meeting in Chicago next week," said Mr. Lee, "and report that the banner Progressive county of the United States had run up the white flag and surrendered to the Republicans." At the meeting William D. Foulke, who had declined to run for senator on the ticket with Hanly for governor, Mayor W. W. Robbins of Richmond and Alfred Davis, each urged the continuance of the Progressive party organization. Mr. Rudolph G. Leeds, however, was very bitter in his denunciation of Mr. Hanly, whom he regarded as a political opportunist.

If Hanly—as Mr. Lee has said—expressed the opinion that he made a mistake by not affiliating with the Progressive party in 1912, then it is my opinion that he has made another mistake in becoming a near-Progressive in 1916. The Progressive party is on the down grade and I attribute this mostly to mismanagement on the part of its leaders. I am leaving the party for good.

Thus did another former ardent worker desert the cause. He then announced his intentions of supporting Goodrich for governor.⁹ Otis E. Gulley of Danville was another Progressive to return to the Republican ranks. He asked for nomination for attorney general, being urged to do so by the Hendricks county bar association in the hope of inducing other Progressives to return also. His version of the situation was that the lesson had been learned. "Our friends," he said, "may abuse

⁸ Indianapolis *Star*, Jan. 7, 1916.

⁹ Indianapolis *Star*, Jan. 9, 1916.

us, but all who are in favor of conserving the thoughtful judgment of a majority of a free people will join hands with us in an effort against the lethargy of watchful waiting."¹⁰

Former Seventh district Progressive chairman, Harry O. Chamberlin, made his first formal announcement of his return to the Grand Old Party at a ward meeting of Republicans on February 17. He fired hot shots at both New and Watson, however, urging the voters to support Robinson for senator. Watson he called "A political scarlet letter."

Without solicitation, without suggestion, without promise or thought of reward, my mind has turned to one of those men who will in the judgment of the best number of Republicans whose views I represent, more nearly bring together the discordant elements of the party than either of the others in the race.¹¹

Members of the Progressive state committee meeting in the Lemcke building at Indianapolis, February 17, reported activity in behalf of candidates in the various districts. Dates were fixed for the reorganization of state and district committees and the election of county chairmen. A resolution praising Albert J. Beveridge, and declaring the principles for which he fought while a United States senator from Indiana were then being enacted into laws, was adopted unanimously.¹²

When the state central committee met, March 30, it re-elected Edwin M. Lee state chairman and Elias D. Salsbury, secretary. Wm. Holton Dye was elected national committeeman from Indiana to take the place of Rudolph Leeds, who resigned upon his reinstatement in the Republican ranks. Mr. Dye served until the state convention elected a new national committeeman for a full term. Bert Essex of Indianapolis

¹⁰ *Indianapolis Star*, Feb. 9, 1916.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1916.

¹² *Indianapolis Star*, Feb. 18, 1916. Under the new primary law precinct committeemen chosen March 7, would meet March 11 and elect a county chairman. The state committee would instruct the county chairmen to meet on March 18, to elect district chairmen comprising the state central committee, would meet in Indianapolis to select a state chairman. The above dates were fixed at the meeting. Those present were: 1. W. E. McElderry; 2. J. N. Dyer; 3. Dr. J. B. Stalker, and Wm. A. Pierson; 4. Will H. Newsom; 5. Wm. Wallace, and Lewis McNutt; 6. H. J. Roberts, Earl Crawford, and George R. Carter; 7. Frank J. Doudican, W. D. Headrick, Elias D. Salsbury, Thomas A. Daily, and Clarence R. Martin; 8. Carl Thompson; 9. Wm. H. Dye, and J. W. Whicker; 10. Dr. G. R. Coffin, and John W. Harvey; 11. Cornelius S. McGrevey, and 12. Lyman Jackman.

was chosen as vice-chairman of the state committee with Henry S. Rominger treasurer. Chairman Lee was authorized to appoint executive, advisory, finance and convention committees, as well as to name a temporary chairman. It was decided to send thirty-four delegates to the national convention with one-half vote each. Each district was to have two delegates, except the Seventh and Thirteenth, which would have four. Four delegates at large were to be elected by the state convention. Mr. Hanly, who attended the meeting, explained that he would only ask that the party advocate the initiative, referendum and recall for local and municipal governments as a condition of his making the race for governor.

The Republican state convention met at Indianapolis on April 6 and 7, just one month after the primary election of March 7. It was a notable gathering and showed a judicious effort to win back the Progressive voters into harmonious co-operation. On the afternoon of April 6, the assemblage was addressed by the temporary chairman, Quincy A. Myers, who was a candidate for governor in the primary. He declared the Republicans had always been "patriots before partisans." Wilson's foreign policy came in for its share of criticism at the hands of the speaker. Mr. Henry D. Estabrook of New York had been engaged to extend an impressive and eloquent appeal for the Progressives to return home. He urged a united party behind the Republican candidates.

The party must get together, not as hyphenated Republicans, but as rejuvenated Republicans. When brothers fall out, they do not come together in sack-cloth and ashes nor through recriminations or aspersions of motive. They come together with a clasp of the hands, with a smile in the eyes and with the sheepish grin of mutual and affectionate condonation and say nothing. Just so must we Republicans forgive and forget.

The death of Senator Shively on the afternoon of March 14, in Washington, necessitated the nomination of two senatorial candidates instead of one. The convention was thus enabled to avoid the embarrassing task of deciding the primary election difficulty of candidates New and Watson by naming both of them. Shelby county Republicans asked that both men be selected as the proper course to pursue to obviate

all friction, promote party unity and complete harmony in the Republican party.¹³

Horace C. Stilwell, former Progressive leader, was permanent chairman of the convention. Others who were given recognition as returned prodigals were E. C. Toner for delegate at large; Thomas N. Davidson of Greensburg and D. N. Foster of Ft. Wayne for contingent electors at large; Edgar D. Bush for lieutenant governor and Harry A. Roberts of Carmel for state statistician. The platform was not radical at all but fairly progressive. No objection was made to the omission of woman suffrage and prohibition planks. On the other hand the platform declared for: the restoration of a protective tariff and for a tariff commission; for preparedness legislation at once; for a more spirited foreign policy; opposed Wilson's policies toward nations at war in Europe and toward Mexico, also the existing Democratic state administration; favored tax reforms; short ballot, home rule for cities, and giving the governor power to veto any items in a general appropriations bill.

The Democratic state convention met April 26. It nominated Thomas Taggart for the short senatorial term.¹⁴ The platform pointed out all the progressive legislation that had been passed under Democratic administrations. Some things mentioned were: An improved banking law, popular election of senators, liberal pensions, extension of parcel post, perfecting postal savings banks, income tax, strengthening of Sherman anti-trust act. In state legislation they pointed with pride to workmen's compensation, vocational education, public service commission, primary election law, the payment of state debts, anti-loan shark laws, provision for a state fire marshall, an inheritance tax law and anti-lobby law.

The Progressives planned to hold their state convention in Indianapolis, May 26, but the date was postponed. As early as March 13, it became known that many of the delegates, selected at the march primary, were holding up their views until after the Republican national convention. They were to meet in the various districts May 24, to select two delegates

¹³ Indianapolis *Star*, March 18, 1916.

¹⁴ Mr. Taggart had been appointed by Governor Ralston on March 19 to serve until a successor to Mr. Shively was elected.

and two alternates from each district and to transact any other business before the national convention. The district delegates were to meet in Indianapolis at the state headquarters on May 26, to elect four delegates and four alternates.

Reports from the various districts indicated a strong Roosevelt sentiment. Every meeting indorsed him for President. At Evansville the delegates expressed a desire for unity instructing the delegates to the national convention to vote for Roosevelt "first, last and all the time." The Second district meeting at Bloomington opposed amalgamation with the Republicans along "standpat" lines. George Ade, selected as delegate from the Tenth district at Rensselaer, expressed the opinion that Roosevelt sentiment was growing in the east as well as the west. At Terre Haute the attitude seemed to be Roosevelt or his equal, while at Connorsville it was "Roosevelt or no one."¹⁵

Early in January, Progressive leaders, at a meeting in Chicago, planned for their national convention on the same week as the Republicans. National committeemen, present at the time, confirmed the early gossip that an amalgamation of Progressives and Republicans was possible in June even if Colonel Roosevelt was not nominated. All agreed, however, that the stampeding of the Republican national conclave for the Colonel would end the deflection and make everybody happy. The Progressives hoped to agree with the Republicans on both candidate and platform without sacrificing their principles. George W. Perkins at a banquet, January 10, in the Blackstone Hotel, Chicago, maintained that the Progressive

¹⁵ Indianapolis *Star*, May 25, 1916. Delegates to the Chicago convention were: At large, Wm. C. Bobbs, Edwin M. Lee, Wm. D. Foulke and James B. Wilson; First district, W. E. McIldeery of Princeton and J. M. Israel of Petersburg; Second, John Dyer of Vincennes and Joseph E. Henley of Bloomington; Third, T. S. Jones of Corydon and A. P. Hauss of New Albany; Fourth, John A. Ross of Seymour and Will Newsom of Elizabethtown; Fifth, Louis McNutt of Brazil and Frank Hays of Greencastle; Sixth, H. T. Roberts of Greenfield and W. N. Needham of Shelbyville; Seventh, Henry S. Rominger, Willitts A. Bastian, W. D. Headrick and Clarence R. Martin of Indianapolis; Eighth, Theodore P. Shockney of Union City and Harold Hobbs of Muncie; Ninth, Dr. G. A. Schultz of Lebanon and J. W. Whicker of Attica; Tenth, George Ade of Brook and C. T. Coffin of Monticello; Eleventh, J. F. Lawrence of Peru and M. F. Anderson of Marion; Twelfth, Wm. Devilbiss and Henry F. Reiter of Fort Wayne; Thirteenth, L. C. Landon of South Bend, W. R. Andrus of Laporte, C. A. Sparkin of Warsaw and R. C. Stephens of Plymouth. The four delegates chosen in the Seventh and Thirteenth districts were allowed one-half vote each. Indianapolis *News*, May 26, 1912.

party had not gone up the spout like the Greenbackers and Populists. He arraigned the Democratic administration severely and handed hot shots to the Republican leaders.

As is always the case in great moral struggles we have had many discouragements, but now on the eve of the meeting of our national committee I am sure I voice the sentiment of every man present and the thousands of loyal men and women whom he represents, when I say that we are glad we engaged in the struggle; that we have accomplished a vast amount of good for our country, and God willing, we'll accomplish a great deal more. On the morrow practically every state will be represented by a national committeeman, ninety per cent of the men who led the fight in 1912 will be here in person or represented with the one purpose, to use their best judgment, expressed through the highest patriotism, to serve their country's broadest interests. The results of the present war are bound to open up a new world economically, religiously and politically. Our country needs leadership, leadership with vision, courage, and patriotism in order to reach a wise solution of the problems confronting us.¹⁶

In order to secure this leadership many of the Progressives were willing to join with the Republicans. They would like to have the same leader and principles as their former comrades. The Republicans, however, were not disposed to favor Roosevelt as the nominee, but seemed to consider anyone else.

Progressives gathered at an informal conference, June 4, in the convention city in order to discuss platform planks. William D. Foulke, as one of the early Indiana arrivals, was present. As finally submitted the platform was one ringing with declarations of Americanism and preparedness, military, spiritual, economic and industrial as its keynotes. It was completed in co-operation with the Republican convention platform builders. The "Americanism" planks, minus direct reference to hyphenism, declared in vigorous terms for upholding American rights on land and sea, guarding "the honor and influence of our nation," and maintaining "the integrity of international law."

The Progressives hoped to bring about the nomination of a compromise ticket by marking time until the Republicans had acted. Each convention appointed a conference commit-

¹⁶ Indianapolis *Star*, Jan. 11, 1916.

tee to negotiate with that of the other body.¹⁷ Perkin's declaration that "we are out for a matchless man and an incomparable cause," that "no one else has such a man and he is the cause, therefore we have no second choice" expressed the feeling of those Progressives who would not support any candidate but Roosevelt.

On the third ballot, June 10, Hughes and Fairbanks were named to head the Republican ticket. Mr. Roosevelt, after suggesting Mr. Lodge as a compromise candidate, declined tentatively to accept the nomination for President with John M. Parker as Vice-President, when it was tendered to him by the Progressive convention. The former President desired to learn the attitude of Mr. Hughes on the vital questions of the day. His conditional refusal was placed in the hands of the Progressive national committee. Immediately after the final adjournment, the Indiana Progressive delegates appointed a committee, consisting of W. D. Foulke, W. C. Bobbs, and Willitts A. Bastian to send a message to Mr. Roosevelt reaffirming their faith in him and insisting on his acceptance of the Progressive nomination.

Thus had the efforts to name a compromise candidate failed. The refusal of Mr. Roosevelt to accept the Progressive nomination left the members of that party in the dark. His final statement to this effect was made to the Progressive national committee when it reconvened at Chicago on June 26. The committee thereupon followed his advice and indorsed Mr. Hughes by a vote of 36 to 6. William Holton Dye, Indiana's member, voted with the majority. He was severely criticised by many for his action, while others just as freely upheld him. A stormy session resulted when the Indiana Progressives met at Indianapolis, June 28, to decide upon their future position. Men who attacked Roosevelt were called "curs" by Clarence R. Martin. July 20 was fixed as the date for the state convention of the party, being the second postponement. In the meantime party followers

¹⁷ *Indianapolis Star*, Jan. 25, 1916. Decision of members of Republican national committee, January 24, 1916. Republicans—Senator Smoot, of Utah; Murray Crane, of Massachusetts; Senator Borah, of Idaho; Nicholas Murray Butler, of New York, and A. R. Johnson, of Ohio. Progressives—George W. Perkins and Horace Wilkinson, of New York; Governor Johnson, of California; Charles J. Bonaparte, of Maryland, and John M. Parker, of Louisiana.

were asked to consider the question of calling another national convention to name another presidential candidate.

The breach over Hughes grew wider and wider. The Progressive party was being unscrambled in Indiana as well as elsewhere. It was made up in general of two elements. On one side were the devotees of Mr. Roosevelt, while on the other were the apostles of social agitation. That the party was not made up entirely of Roosevelt's personal following was clearly demonstrated by the widespread revolt against his support of Hughes. Some of these men began even at Chicago to charge him with perfidy to them and of betrayal of Progressive principles. Scholars, authors, settlement workers and such like are not dependables of any party, and who were now on fire with zeal for reform measures that filled up so large a part of the Progressive platform, had merely accepted the Colonel as the generalissimo of the new organization. He offered them spirited and sagacious leadership. He had probably accepted such a curious division of his army with something of the same utilitarian frame of mind. His personality dominated in 1912, now they were not so anxious to follow him into the Hughes camp. Some who followed him into the new party without regard for its reform propaganda had already preceded him into the reunion camps. Others wore sullen countenances and deplored his betrayal of social justice. Those of the latter class might be expected to scatter to all parties, some even to the Socialists and Prohibitionists, where they were not wholly strangers. Former Governor Hanly, whom the Progressives had expected to have at the head of their ticket, was one of the first to decline to make the race for an office. He cast his lot with the Prohibitionists, giving as his excuse the failure of the Progressive national convention to put a national prohibition plank in its platform.¹⁸

Several nominees on the Progressive county ticket in Vanderburg county announced their return to the Republican lines. The Progressives of Johnson county came out with an announcement of their intentions to support Hughes and Fairbanks, almost to a man. "The Republican platform is

¹⁸ *Indianapolis Star*, June 13, 1916.

progressive enough and the ticket suits us.”¹⁹ John C. Shaffer of the Shaffer group of newspapers, including the Indianapolis, Muncie and Terre Haute *Stars* was one who urged Mr. Roosevelt not to change his decision to support Mr. Hughes. George Ade let it be known that he was satisfied. Mr. Roosevelt's course, he said, was shaped by a desire to see Wilson defeated. Wm. Holton Dye, Progressive national committeeman from Indiana, expressed the feeling of most of the members of that party who were willing to go back to their former allegiance. His statement was issued following a conference with both Hughes and Roosevelt.

In the event Roosevelt definitely refuses to run we are confronted with a most serious question. A continuance of the Democratic party may enable it to get such a hold on the political situation as to take many years to free the country from its inefficient and incompetent control. The Republican party controlled by the old bosses would be almost as bad, but the progressive forces under Mr. Hughes can force the bosses out of power if Mr. Hughes assumes the same attitude as President, as he did when he was governor of New York and if he has Colonel Roosevelt's co-operation and support.²⁰

Realizing that their ranks were being steadily thinned by desertions, very few Progressives were optimistic enough to believe that victory was possible for them in November. This fact had its influence in inducing others to give up the fight and enlist with stronger forces, where there was some hope of doing some actual service. All they could hope to do as Progressives would be to go on record for principle as the Prohibition party did. There were only a few to whom such a course proved interesting. In 1912 there was a distinct chance of success at the polls, but the 1914 election had shown a decline in Progressive strength, which it was reasonable to infer had continued. In 1916 it would be either Hughes or Wilson. The Progressive national committee had recommended Hughes though it disavowed any right to deliver the votes of the party at large. The truth was that Progressives, who were not very strong party slaves, would exercise their own individual judgment in November. To the returned Progressives, Mr. Roosevelt's action in supporting Mr. Hughes

¹⁹ Indianapolis *News*, June 14, 1916.

²⁰ Indianapolis *Star*, June 24, 1916.

was justified by adequate reasons. These reasons, they felt, would appeal to their hesitating brethren with constantly increasing force as time wore on. In inviting their support for the Republican ticket, nothing but kindness and calm reason were to be used. Roosevelt's example of personal sacrifice was one, which, in the long run, sagacity and patriotism would have to follow. The welfare of the country came first. The management of the Indiana Republican organization was unsatisfactory to many Progressives, and not without justification in the past. But the disposition to deal fairly with former Progressives was in evidence and could not fail to exert its effect except with those who were determined not to be reconciled.

Conservative Progressives in Indianapolis and elsewhere, who desired to follow Roosevelt in the 1916 campaign, talked of the formation of a Progressive alliance or league similar to the one in Illinois and other states where the party had retired from the active field. By such an alliance or league they felt it would be possible to maintain an effective organization which could be made instantly operative in subsequent political developments requiring a well organized protest movement. There was a feeling that the Progressive cause would not be advanced by committing the party as a party to the Democrats or Republicans, but that on national issues Progressives should be left free to act as the national committee suggested, according to their own consciences.²¹ The Progressive state central committee, at a meeting, July 10, adopted a resolution refusing financial assistance from either Democratic or Republican organizations during the campaign. The committee did not propose that the state convention, July 20, should indorse any candidate for President. Thomas A. Daily of Indianapolis was added to the list of possible candidates for governor.

The committee also reached an agreement to retire William H. Dye as the Progressive national committeeman from Indiana. The decision was not announced until July 13, when Mr. Lee sent a letter to Dye. His vote indorsing Hughes was branded as contrary to the wishes of the Indiana leaders.

²¹ Indianapolis *News*, July 8, 1916.

Moreover he was charged with being active behind the scenes as a member of the so-called "committee of nine," the purpose of which, Mr. Lee declared, was "to murder the Progressive party in Indiana."²² The "committee of nine" was quite active just before the state convention, in its efforts to solicit proxies from delegates who would not attend. This precipitated the question of whether or not the proxies had been issued according to the rules of the party.²³

The regular Progressives held the "whip hand" in the convention and clinched the plan for a complete state ticket. Thus they triumphed over the "insurgents" of "the committee of nine." They even nominated presidential electors. "Bogus" and "counterfeit" tickets were said to be in circulation, proxies were also in evidence, those obtained by the "committee of nine" of which Clarence R. Martin was secretary, were uniformly ruled out by the chairman. The "committee of nine" then tried to change the proxy rule, eliminate presidential electors and declare in favor of a Progressive league, instead of a straight party organization. Clarence Martin offered a truce, saying that the "committee of nine" would withdraw from the fight against nominating a state ticket if Lee resigned as state chairman. He, no doubt, believed that with Lee not exercising control a majority in the convention would "listen to reason" and decide not to put up a state ticket.²⁴

A ticket was nominated nevertheless. Thomas A. Daily was named for governor, James B. Wilson for senator, long term, and Clifford Jackman for the short term. James M. Zion of Clark's Hill was named for secretary of state. The convention turned down a proposal made by Jackson Boyd of the resolution committee to abandon a state ticket, so hard that he resigned from the party immediately. Edward R. Lewis of Indianapolis did the same.

The platform as adopted by the Progressive convention

²² This was a group of Indiana Progressives who, following Roosevelt's refusal to be a candidate for President, labored to prevent the nomination of a Progressive state ticket. *News*, July 14, 1916, also *Star* of same date.

²³ Each proxy had to be counter-signed by both the county chairman as in his failure to act the district chairman alone was empowered to validate a proxy. This covered also the case of absent delegates for whom no previous provision of proxy had been made. The rules prevented the holding of more than one delegate's vote by any individual. *Indianapolis Star*, July 19, 1916.

²⁴ *Indianapolis News*, July 20, 1916.

reiterated the demands and principles advocated in 1912 and 1914. It declared that the Republican platform was reactionary. The Democratic party had been given a chance, but did not improve it. They had been forced by Progressive strength to pass a workman's compensation act and a direct primary act. Moreover the Democrats were accused of ignoring other demands of the Progressive platform of 1914, and prepared by the Progressive legislative committee to strengthen the child labor laws, provide free school books, civil service reform, abolish convict contract labor, preventing industrial diseases and accidents, preventing or restraining injunctions in labor disputes, passing a minimum wage law, giving cities a commission form of government and counties a business form of overnment, "blue sky" laws, good roads and reform of court procedure. The party pledged itself anew to these reforms. Besides, they demanded economy, the short ballot, a new constitution and prohibition by national and state constitutional amendment.

A national Progressive conference was held at Indianapolis on August 3. Representatives from seventeen states were present and outlined a program for their future work. It was decided that national committeemen who had indorsed Hughes should resign from their places, paving the way for a reorganization of the committee and the recovery of the party's machinery from Perkins and Hughes supporters. They declared in favor of John W. Parker's plan for centering the Progressive campaign in a few doubtful states where there was a possibility of making the party a decisive factor in the national election. In order to manage the national campaign a committee of fifteen was appointed to act in place of the national committee in advising state organizations. Subsequent conferences were provided to rehabilitate the party and after the fall election a national convention was suggested to consider the amalgamation of minor parties and independent voters.²⁵ The conferences decided that the action of individual Progressives on the presidency should be left to their individual judgments and consciences.

In August the campaign opened. The Republican state

²⁵ Indianapolis *Star*, Aug. 4, 1916.

campaign committee contained the names of a number of former Progressives, among them being those of George Ade, W. C. Bobbs, Neil McGrevey, William Endicott and Edward C. Toner. County committees followed the example of the state committee in inviting the Progressives to join with them. They expected thereby to receive the lion's share of the Progressive vote. On September a Hughes Alliance was formed at Indianapolis. Its membership included men previously identified with other parties. Willitts A. Bastian, former Seventh district Progressive chairman, was elected president; F. S. Max Puett of Rockville, a former Democrat, became secretary; Winfield Miller of Indianapolis, a Republican, treasurer, and Clarence R. Martin, a leading Progressive, field secretary. The sole requirement for membership was the support of Hughes. A general campaign committee and an executive committee were provided for. Local and auxiliary branches were organized in order to gather up independent voters, dissatisfied Democrats and Progressives.²⁶

Former Senator Albert J. Beveridge, in July, announced his intention of taking the stump in behalf of Hughes. The regular Republicans welcomed his return because he was considered one of the leading Progressives and no doubt existed as to his oratorical abilities. The course taken by Mr. Beveridge, could not fail to influence others of the Bull Moose party, who hesitated to take a like step before that time. Judge James B. Wilson withdrew from the party in August. He had been nominated for senator at the March primary so that his retirement necessitated the appointment of a successor. While he still believed in the Progressive principles there was no hope for his election so that it seemed the course of wisdom to allow voters freedom of choice between candidates of the old parties. John Napier Dyer of Vincennes was picked as Mr. Wilson's successor for the long senatorial term. For the short term John F. Clifford of Connersville was named, taking the place of Clifford Jackman of Huntington, who resigned to cast his lot with the Prohibitionist party. The Progressive had no candidate for judge of the superior court, Second district, after J. Oscar Hall of Shelbyville refused to allow his name on the ballot.

²⁶ Indianapolis *News*, Sept. 5; Indianapolis *Star*, Sept. 6, 1916.

As the campaign wore on it became still more evident that the Progressives would not make much of a showing. Reports from the Maine election indicated a clean sweep for the Republicans. In Indiana there were many cases where Progressive county tickets withdrew in favor of the Republican nominees.²⁷ The party leaders were confronted with a difficult problem because they had neither speakers nor funds.²⁸ It was merely a fight between the Republicans and Democrats. Each of these parties had a candidate for Vice-President from Indiana, and in addition there was the added interest resulting from two senatorial campaigns as well as the Goodrich-Adair contest for governor. President Wilson visited the state on October 12, attending a good roads meeting and the state Centennial Celebration in Indianapolis. Later he spoke at Goshen, Elkhart, and South Bend on his way to Chicago. William G. McAdoo, secretary of the treasury, on the same date spoke at Ft. Wayne along with Senators Kern and Taggart in an effort to bolster up Democratic chances in the state. Mr. Hughes covered the state very well in two tours through it. The first, September 21-23, was over the northern part. On October 31 and November 1, just before the election, he made a hasty canvass of the southern section, giving especial attention to the German element there. Mr. Roosevelt, Raymond Robins and George Ade all spoke in behalf of the Republican nominee, urging the Progressives to support him since their own party was no longer of any consequence.

The Democrats based their claims for reinstatement on the record of Wilson's administration including legislation against child labor, for an eight hour law, rural credits, a federal reserve act, a tariff commission and workman's compensation. Besides this it was argued that the President had preserved the neutrality of the nation thus avoiding any serious loss to

²⁷ Indianapolis *Star*, Sept. 12, 1916. Some instances of note were Grant, Vigo, Fountain and Hamilton counties.

²⁸ As evidences of this one needs only to compare the campaign expenses of the Progressive senatorial nominee with those of the Republicans and Democrats: Taggart, \$3,287.79; Kern, \$1,250; New, no contributions, but \$3,000 expenses; John F. Clifford and J. N. Dyer, Progressives, no contributions and no expenses; Elwood Haynes, Prohibitionist, no expenses but \$5,200 contributed to National Prohibition committee and \$450 to Indiana state committee. Indianapolis *Star*, Oct. 31, 1916.

our people which would result from participation in the great European war. They built up their hope around this President whom they apparently regarded as stronger than his party.

The Progressives practically disappeared as a party after the election. The vote cast for their nominee was almost negligible. None of their candidates on the state ticket received as many as 5,000 votes or one-third of the support given to Prohibitionist or Socialist candidates. Progressive nominees for congress received very little consideration, only the Fifth, Ninth, Eleventh and Thirteenth districts giving them more than 1,000 votes.²⁹

Evidently practically all the 1912 Progressive vote was this year given to the Republicans. The latter party was thus enabled to elect its state ticket and Hughes electors. As intimated elsewhere the Progressives were reconciled to their former allegiance because it was evident that they could not accomplish anything except through their influence and not through actual control of the government. George Ade expressed the true vision of the situation in explaining his own case when he said:

I marched with the Progressive party until it became a dwindling minority of bleeding martyrs and I would have continued to march if there had been a probability of our arriving anywhere. I liked my travelling companions and the scenery, but a man can not continue a journey which offers no terminus. When a man has just one round of ammunition to shoot he can't afford to stand off on a hillside and shoot into the air. Progressives must recognize the fact that this year there are only two contending parties and every voter must either make a quick choice or retire to the deep woods. This is no time for grieving over what might have been. The thing for every Progressive to do is to look pleased and vote for Hughes.³⁰

The Republican party elected many of its state tickets in the north and west, but lost in the electoral race. One would

²⁹ *Report of Secretary of State*, 1916, pp. 206-208.

³⁰ *Indianapolis Star*, Oct. 21, 1916. Raymond Robins told a similar story. He supported the Republicans because he felt that they held out more to the Progressives. He differed with his Progressive friends "who did not know when they were dead." He did not believe in "staying at a wake until the corpse" ran him "out of the room." *Indianapolis Star*, Nov. 2, 1916.

naturally think that if it was right for Progressives in Indiana, Illinois and New York to vote for Hughes they should do so in California and Washington. In the latter states the voters decided on extraneous circumstances more than upon the ordinary political issues. The Republicans had made a blunder in attacking President Wilson rather than his party. Some of the western electorate thereupon seemed to fear that the country would suffer because Republican orators spoke in disrespectful terms of the chief executive. No doubt Hughes' plurality in Indiana was reduced to some extent by this argument, and the love of peace at any price. Indiana's Republican organization was likely the best of any state. The old leaders there had not ignored the Progressives but made an effort to give them places on the various party organization committees. The Progressive leaders asked for a continuance of this recognition in the future. Gifford Pinchot, Raymond Robibns, James R. Garfield, William Allen White and others made such a plea in a meeting at Chicago on December 7. This action was followed on the next day by a similar demand from the regular Progressive party through the acting chairman, Matthew Hale.³¹

With the 1916 election the Progressives ceased to exist as a political party in Indiana. A desire for united effort along lines, incident to the great war, led voters to walk in accustomed paths instead of insisting upon radical changes. The old guard machinery was rapidly restored so that by the 1918 campaign there was scarcely any evidence of Progressiveism in its make up. Former Progressive leaders were not found in positions of influence in the old party. Most all third party movement created a large independent vote. Of this, the largest of all such parties, a proportionately large and patent group of political mavericks was the result. These men are not the property of any party. They resent the idea of being accomplices of any bosses or unscrupulous party leaders. Whether or not the Progressive movement will again be organized into an independent political party is of course uncertain, and any statement to that effect would be mere conjecture. A large majority of the Progressives left the Re-

³¹ Indianapolis *Star*, Dec. 7, 1916.

publican party and afterward returned to it. They still believe in the Progressive principles, and their number is large enough to command the respect of the party with which they are identified.